FBIS DAILY REPORT

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ROMANIA'S ANDREI CITES DANGERS, ISSUES FACING DELEGATES

AU172141 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 15 Nov 80 p 6

[Report on speech by Romanian Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei at the 14 November CSCE meeting in Madrid]

[Text] Pointing out that the current conference is taking place in circumstances marked by a particularly complex and contradictory international situation, the speaker listed the sources of the grave accentuation of tension and of the unprecedented escalation of the arms race: intensified policy of domination and interference in internal affairs, of consolidating and redividing areas of influence; a deepening economic crisis, particularly the energy and oil crisis; an acute sharpening of contradictions among countries and groups of countries; perpetuation of existing conflicts and emergence of new ones.

The most dangerous situation--the speaker said--is in Europe, where the two military alliances are pitted against each other and where the most numerous military troops and sophisticated arsenals, including nuclear weapons, have been stockpiled. Even more dangerous programs have recently begun being implemented on deployment and development of new types of nuclear missiles which--as we must openly tell our peoples--are aimed at European countries. These new mass destruction weapons enhance the lack of security and the threat of a nuclear war, and endanger the very life of all European nations. It can be stated that never since World War II has the danger of a conflagration been greater than it is now.

In this situation we must ask ourselves: What has been done since the historical meeting of heads of states and governments in Helsinki, which raised so many hopes in our peoples? Life shows that very little, practically nothing of substance was done after the signing of the final document to halt the dangerous political course on our continent. An attitude of abeyance and even passivity prevailed, and no energetic, resolute or persevering steps were taken to implement the provisions of the final document. This attitude was equally reflected at the Belgrade meeting. Sterile polemics diverted attention from essential problems and results were far from satisfactory. Unfortunately, such negative trends persist; they were reflected in the preparatory meeting and even at the debates of the current conference.

A review of events succeeding the Helsinki conference shows that instead of diminishing, the military threat has increased in Europe. In economic relations, instead of eliminating existing obstacles, new artificial barriers and restrictions were placed in the way of mutually advantageous international cooperation. Various political forces systematically mounted slander campaigns against other countries, and took steps which practically amounted to interference in internal affairs--a fact which generated animosity and poisoned international relations on our continent.

A lucid examination of the real situation in Europe shows that we have reached a very dangerous point; hence, our conference must urgently bring about a radical change toward a policy of peace, detente, cooperation and independence in Europe. We must deal with problems realistically and constructively, avoiding polemics and mutual accusations: We must understand that European security is not and cannot be conceived as a good-will gesture on the part of this or that state, or as an advantage given one or some of us. European security is a vital, urgently needed requirement for absolutely all the countries participating in our conference. We must act--before it is too late--to halt the dangerous course of events on the continent and, in a spirit of complete realism and understanding, we must devise specific measures to implement the provisions of the Helsinki final document as a unitary whole and to create a climate of cooperation and security on the continent, in which each people can be sure of being able to develop freely, protected against any outside interference or aggression.

Romania, fully engaged in rapidly developing its economy, science and culture, in continuously consolidating democratic leadership in its society, and in securing an ever higher level of well-being and civilization for its people, is at the same time profoundly interested in establishing a lasting climate of trust and extensive cooperation, of security and peace in Europe and throughout the world--a climate permitting it to concentrate its forces and creative capabilities on its socioeconomic development, and to fruitfully cooperate with the other nations for progress, well-being and civilization.

Proceeding from the need to achieve security and develop cooperation in Europe and in the world, Romania and President Nicolae Ceausescu have intensively endeavored to reveal the situation as it really is, in its entire gravity, and have ceaselessly militated to consistently apply all the provisions of the final document, conceived as a unitary whole, with a view to promoting a genuine policy of detente and marking significant progress toward European security. Throughout this period and especially after the Belgrade conference, Romania and its president have pursued a policy of extensive contacts and meetings with European heads of state and government, have consistently worked to develop cooperation and collaboration in Europe and have actively participated in efforts to enhance trust on the continent.

The Romanian president recently stated that the Madrid conference "must give new impetus to implementing the Helsinki documents and to developing equal cooperation and collaboration among European countries in all areas. In particular, we believe that agreement should be reached on a conference on military disengagement, trust and disarmament in Europe. Similarly, the conference should decide on its continuation, which is necessary for achieving genuine security and cooperation in Europe."

Life has shown that the essential factor for a policy of detente is resolutely basing international relations on the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, renunciation of the use and threat of force, and observance of each people's right to a free development, in accordance with its wishes and without any foreign interference. Hence, we believe that the current CSCE must forcefully and clearly reassert the commitment of all countries that signed the final document to unabatedly respect all the principles sanctioned in the CSCE final document in both their mutual relations and in their relations with other countries, regardless of social system, size, level of development or membership in military alliances.

The conference must also focus on continued efforts to work out an effective system of peacefully settling differences, a system excluding the use or threat of force between participating countries once and for all.

In view of the increasingly closer interdependence characterizing contemporary developments, every possible effort must be made to exclude the use and threat of force from international relations and to solve conflicts between countries solely through negotiations--in whatever part of the world they may emerge--utterly eschewing military options or confrontations, which can only inflict great damage and suffering on all the peoples and create grave dangers for peace and detente. Each people's independence and sovereignty and its right to freely decide on its destinies without any foreign interference under whatever pretext and in whatever form, must always and in all circumstances be respected.

The Madrid conference must undoubtedly focus primarily on definite actions toward military disengagement and disarmament, without which there can be no trust, peace or security in Europe or in the rest of the world. [paragraph continues]

The supreme, vital interests of the European peoples require immediate freezing of military budgets, followed by steady reductions and by substantial cuts in military troops and weapons. Another essential condition is the withdrawal of troops from the territory of other countries and dismantling foreign military bases. It is exceptionally important that the current meeting agree that a balance of military forces is to be achieved not by increasing military budgets, weapons and troops, not by designing and manufacturing new means of mass destruction, but by implementing effective disarmament measures, primarily nuclear disarmament, under strict and efficient international control. Energetically acting along this line, Romania recently decided, for the third consecutive time, to cut back its annual military budget.

In the present situation, the speaker continued, when the peoples want to establish relations of cooperation and trust, the anachronism of military alliances--established as is known during the "cold war" and which have long since outlived their usefulness, assuming they were ever required--has become even more obvious. The time has come to create conditions to simultaneously dissolve NATO and the Warsaw Pact. This would contribute to enhancing international trust and detente. It must be clearly understood that not military blocs, but international cooperation and friendship can guarantee peace and each people's independence.

The road to military disengagement and disarmament in Europe can also be opened up and consolidated by deciding at our conference to cease displays of military force at the borders of other countries to notify them of large-scale troop movements, and to adopt additional measures to increase trust.

Thus, Romania believes that the Madrid conference has the duty to convene a conference on enhancing trust and on disengagement and disarmament in Europe as an essential element of the process of achieving security initiated at the Helsinki conference. Such a conference should debate--with the equal participation of all the signatories of the final document--the military aspects of security, and arrive at specific agreements, beginning with measures to enhance trust and stability, and to achieve military disengagement and disarmament, and finally leading to the goal set in Helsinki: general, primarily nuclear, disarmament.

Romania also believes that the CSCE participants are dutybound to halt the deployment and development of new nuclear missiles on the continent. Hailing the decision to begin negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States on the new missiles, we express our hope that these negotiations will permit agreements banning the deployment and development of new missiles in Europe, and in the last analysis, the liquidation of nuclear arsenals on the continent.

We also believe that arriving more rapidly at agreements at the Vienna negotiations on mutual reduction of armaments and armed forces in Central Europe can make a positive contribution to detente and security on the continent.

Romania believes that the current conference must devise agreements on intensifying economic cooperation and collaboration, by eliminating all artificial barriers and restrictions, and endeavoring to find joint solutions to various issues of essential importance to the European peoples in the areas of industrial cooperation, energy, transportation, agriculture and environmental protection--areas of major importance for the socioeconomic development of our countries.

We must also agree on actions leading to a far more extensive development of scientific-technical cooperation and collaboration among European countries, ensuring broad access to modern scientific and technological achievements, facilitating solutions to urgent problems decisive for the socioeconomic development of our countries, and alleviating the international economic crisis. [paragraph continues]

It must be remembered that Europe is populated by countries with varying levels of economic development, and that general interests require the elimination of the gaps among them, gaps created by past inequitable relations.

We believe that the organization in the near future of more pan-European meetings, at ministerial level inclusively, to examine specific programs in various areas, particularly in those of energy, scientific and technological research, can also serve the forementioned goals.

Experience has also proven the usefulness of contacts and meetings among scientists, businessmen and representatives of enterprises and firms from the participating countries.

As is envisaged in the final document, the conference should encourage multilateral cooperation at subregional level. Romania is endeavoring to develop cooperation and friendship with all the Balkan countries, with which it has fruitful relations of good-neighborliness and understanding. We are in favor of peacefully solving all the problems existing in the area and developing bilateral and multilateral cooperation, so that the Balkans can become an area of peace, friendship and fruitful cooperation, free of nuclear weapons, military bases and foreign troops, as an integral and particularly important element of security and cooperation in Europe and of actual implementation of the final document. We believe--the Romanian minister stated--that, in the spirit of the final document, our conference should give due attention to developing cooperation and strengthening security in the Mediterranean area and should equally encourage cooperation between the participating states and developing countries in the other parts of the world.

Romania attaches great importance to implementation of the final document provisions on cooperation in the areas of education and culture, information, and individual contacts. We believe that our meeting should give new impetus to cultural-artistic cooperation among all the participating countries, thus contributing to a better understanding of cultural values, bolstering trust, respect and friendship among nations, and to educating people, especially the new generation, in the spirit of the noblest humanitarian ideals. Art, culture and cooperation between our countries in those areas must serve peace and progress, and must forcefully oppose retrograde attempts at inciting to hatred and violence and at debasing the human personality, as well as obscurantist concepts, racism and chauvinism.

Our country believes that the mass media has a particular role to play in promoting the ideas of rapprochement and cooperation between peoples and states. Information addressed to the public must be governed by a spirit of strict objectivity and responsibility for creating and developing a climate of understanding and friendship among the European countries; it must be free of any incitements and instigations, any form of interference in the affairs of other countries, any traits characteristic of the "cold war" era aimed at reviving the nefarious policy of those times.

Romania attaches special importance to the humanitarian issues concerning the European peoples, and believes that our conference must given them due attention. In view of the war danger hanging over the peoples, we believe that every possible effort must be made to realize the basic human right, the essential right of the peoples, namely the right to peace and to a free and dignified life.

Another essential right for the harmonious development of human personality and for permitting the individual to benefit from modern civilization and freedom, is the right to work, to education and to culture. More so, since in many of the participating states, millions of people, particularly young people, are victims of unemployment, which deprives the individual of a secure livelihood and demoralizes him.

Romania believes that the Madrid conference must adopt a resolute stand against and urge the eradication of all attempts to revive fascism and racism, all acts of violence and terrorism. We all know that a nefarious recrudescence of neofascist forces, which are overtly manifesting their anti-human and aggressive ideology, has been increasingly noted in certain European countries which have been inexplicably lenient and reluctant to take a firm attitude, proportionate to the threat that such forces represent for the tranquility of the European peoples and for international peace and cooperation. Profound anxiety is also caused by the violence and terrorism which not only have not ceased, but have even grown in intensity, threatening the lives of citizens in various countries and disrupting normal social life. The European countries can cooperate extensively to jointly combat such profoundly negative social-political phenomena. They can and must cooperate ever more actively to assert the individual's right to a dignified life, to free assertion, to well-being and happiness.

While correctly emphasizing the organic link between peace and security on our continent and in the rest of the world; and while dealing with the problem of human rights, we cannot ignore the fact that two-thirds of the world population are deprived of the most elementary human rights, live in squalor and are illiterate as a result of colonial exploitation and domination, and of new forms of oppression and exploitation, inequality and inequity, devised by big monopolies and multinational companies from countries which signed the final document.

The speaker then stated: Romania believes that ensuring continued, organized and systematic cooperation among the final document signatories within the framework of the process initiated at Helsinki is essential to effectively solve the problems of security and cooperation in accordance with the Helsinki agreements. This process can find its continuity in periodic meetings of representatives of the CSCE participants, meetings of experts and other opportunities for debate, as well as in the convention of a new CSCE.

Given the grave current international situation agreement on specific methods of future cooperation is a condition for actually solving the great problems decisive for safeguarding the peoples' peace and independence. Hence, we believe that the Madrid conference must pay great attention to reaching agreement on specific ways and means of future cooperation, and on the date and place of the next meeting. Thus, I am empowered to repeat President Nicolae Ceausescu's official offer to host the next CSCE in the Romanian capital, Bucharest. We trust that this offer will be supported by all the participant states.

As has been asserted at recent consultations with numerous countries, Romania believes that it is very important to establish a permanent body, in which all the countries should be equally represented, to act in between meetings or conferences.

We believe that all the nations represented here are obligated to act responsibly to make our conference fulfill the peoples' expectations and bring about genuine steps toward security and peace in Europe, thus contributing to abating international tension and resuming the policy of detente, cooperation and respect for all the peoples' independence.

The small and medium-sized countries, regardless of whether they are members of any of the blocs, have an important role to play along this line. By expanding their cooperation and strengthening their solidarity and by fulfilling their own responsibilities they can make a far greater contribution than heretofore in solving European problems, can substantially contribute to consolidating the policy of detente, national independence and peace.

Naturally, Europe is populated by countries with different social systems; however, the European peoples have old traditions of cooperation and friendship, and each of them developed in close relationship to the others on the continent. [paragraph continues]

In view of that reality, the president of Socialist Romania recently solemnly stated: "Regardless of differences of social system, we must develop this interdependence and forge unity among the European nations, with a view to achieving a policy of detente, peace and socioeconomic progress. We never intended and do not bear any organizational form in mind along this line. However, we believe that organizational frameworks are surpassed by the interest not to divide Europe, but to preserve its unity, and to strive in close cooperation with all countries to attain the goals of progress, peace and national independence."

This is the appeal addressed by my president to the present Madrid meeting.

The Romanian delegation is determined to do everything in its power, together with the other delegations, to contribute to the success of our conference, so that it can end with the best possible results in keeping with the expectations of our peoples and of all nations in the world.

HUNGARY'S NAGY STRESSES COMMITMENT TO HELSINKI, URGES DETENTE

AU172051 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 14 Nov 80 pp 1, 3

[MTI report on 13 November Madrid CSCE session: "Address by Janos Nagy in Madrid: Our Goal Is To Strengthen European Security and Cooperation"]

[Excerpt] Hungary was the first socialist country whose representative had the opportunity to address the Madrid meeting that began on Tuesday. Janos Nagy, secretary of state of the ministry of foreign affairs, head of the Hungarian delegation, delivered his speech, which elicited great interest and lively applause following its delivery, at the Thursday afternoon session of the meeting, after Malta's and Denmark's representatives.

In his preamble, he recalled the situation that had developed at the preparatory conference and the fact that great efforts had been needed to work out the compromise solution that made the opening of the meeting possible. The opportunity to conduct the meeting in a constructive spirit is at hand and we must do our best to take advantage of it, said Janos Nagy. He called attention to statements whose tone was intended to channel work in a negative direction from the beginning of the meeting. They included the unfounded accusations leveled under various pretexts--such as, for instance, human rights or the assistance accorded to Afghanistan at its own request--against some of the participating countries.

Speaking of the historic Helsinki Final Act, the head of the Hungarian delegation stated: "The Helsinki Final Act has stood the test of the past 5 years. It has become an integral component of European political life and a long-term program of the development of relations among the signatory countries. It has retained its historical value even amid the slowing down of detente and the strengthening of elements of international tension.

"Now, at the beginning of the meeting, I would like to reaffirm the commitment of the Hungarian People's Republic to implementation of the principles and recommendations laid down in the Helsinki Final Act," Janos Nagy noted, adding: "We are fundamentally interested in the Helsinki principles remaining the norms of international relations and strengthening international cooperation in conformity with the recommendations."

Janos Nagy then reviewed what Hungary has done in accordance with the recommendations of the Final Act. He recalled the high-level talks conducted with Western countries that have signed the Helsinki Final Act in the past years and agreements and conventions that foster bilateral cooperation. [paragraph continues]

He called attention to the fact that Hungary has in the past years submitted additional new specific proposals to numerous Western countries aimed at an appropriate development of the recommendations of the Final Act and noted that, as a result of them, we can speak of development in some areas and there are areas where it would be desirable to make further progress.

There is no doubt that world political and economic processes have also brought up new problems recently, noted Janos Nagy. Dealing with East-West economic cooperation, "One experiences internationally the employment of economic means as political weapons, as instruments of pressure, and we are also witnessing endeavors to alleviate domestic economic difficulties to the detriment of others, to the detriment of international cooperation. We are convinced," stressed Janos Nagy, "that suitable development of international cooperation presents the best means to overcome economic problems." He expressed the view that to date several West European countries have shown little inclination to abolish trade prohibitions and limitations in accordance with the obligation they assumed under the GATT agreement vis-a-vis Hungary.

Touching on the subject of human rights, the head of the Hungarian delegation said that, even amid its economic difficulties, the Hungarian state is, now as before, ensuring broad scope for its citizens for traveling abroad and acquainting themselves with other peoples' lives, culture and historical values. At the same time, he called attention to the fact that a few Western countries do not reciprocate the prompt Hungarian visa procedure favorable for foreign tourists. He said, in connection with cultural and scientific cooperation, that, despite the development that has been attained, the ratio of the exchange of cultural and scientific values is still unfavorable between our country and a few of its Western partners. "On Hungary's part, we would like to achieve a change in that," said Janos Nagy.

The Intensification of Tension Has Caused Concern

Dealing with the goal and tasks of the Madrid meeting, the secretary of state recalled that the meeting is taking place under unfavorable international conditions. As a consequence of onslaughts on detente and steps aimed at obtaining a superiority of military strength and restriction of bilateral relations, the development of East-West relations has slowed down. The situation is made even more complex by endeavors striving to artificially link the European security process to conflicts that have developed in other areas. "The intensification of tension has caused concern in Europe as a whole," said the Hungarian delegate, continuing: "We find that the realization has grown stronger among the peoples of the continent and the governments, political parties and organizations that truly perceive the dangers of further deterioration of the situation that there may be disagreements about the content of detente, but that there is no rational alternative to detente itself.

"Hungarian public opinion has responded with relief and approval to the continuation, after a temporary halt, of the high-level East-West dialogue," noted the head of the Hungarian delegation and then stressed: "In our opinion, the many-faceted relations that have developed following the Helsinki conference have proven firm and stood up to their endurance test.

"The Hungarian People's Republic intends to use the means provided by the meeting to strengthen European security and cooperation," stated Janos Nagy. The Hungarian delegation intends to operate actively, in a constructive spirit and in a manner that fosters results, "as do the rest of the socialist countries. We are striving to come to terms regarding practical steps and measures toward promoting implementation of the Final Act in areas where a possibility for common agreements presents itself," he declared.

Regarding the goal of the meeting, Janos Nagy emphasized that military detente and strengthening trust play a particularly important role under present international conditions. The Madrid meeting could contribute to this primarily by reaching the decision to convene a conference devoted to military detente and disarmament in Europe. Janos Nagy recalled that the Warsaw Pact countries already have made a proposal concerning such a conference and also the fact that they will study with interest relevant suggestions made by other countries. He expressed the hope that enough identical or similar elements can already be found in positions to serve as a starting point for convening a European military detente and disarmament conference.

"The Hungarian delegation is striving to ensure that we attain practical agreements concerning all major subjects of the Helsinki Final Act: in enhancing trust and all main areas of security and cooperation," said Janos Nagy.

In conclusion, the head of the Hungarian delegation stressed that through work conducted in an objective atmosphere and striving for specific agreements the Madrid meeting can promote the development of the European security process and the strengthening of security and cooperation. The Hungarian delegation will contribute to success with a sense of responsibility in keeping with the importance of the meeting, he declared.

CSSR DELEGATE KNIZKA CALLS FOR REALISTIC APPROACH

AU181601 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Nov 80 p 7

[CTK, "ZR"-signed report: "For a Realistic Approach; Our Delegate Spoke at the Madrid Meeting"]

[Excerpt] Madrid, 13 Nov (CTK)--In his speech on Thursday the Czechoslovak delegate, First CSSR Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Jaroslav Knizka, also spoke in this spirit. He noted that the CSSR Government and people are interested in lasting peaceful relations among countries irrespective of their social systems and in detente and consolidation of security in Europe and in the world. This policy is deeply rooted in our country, he said.

Such are the foundations of our approach to the situation in Europe and to its further development. Such is our basic position at the Madrid meeting also, which should culminate in an agreement on specific measures as there is no alternative to the policy of detente. The adopted measures should be aimed at developing the process that was initiated by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the Czechoslovak delegation is preparing proposals for that purpose, which it intends to submit in Madrid.

J. Knizka further spoke on economic cooperation, which is a quite natural and law-governed contact area among countries with different social systems. Its potential is far from exhausted and the CSSR is in favor of each initiative that is based on the principles of mutual advantage and not on discrimination.

However, it is deplorable that we must note, the Czechoslovak delegate went on to say, that not all signatories of the Final Act approach the development of economic cooperation in this way. That is borne out by many artifically created obstacles. The United States, for instance, implements in that respect a policy vis-a-vis the CSSR that is deeply rooted in the cold war period.

The Czechoslovak delegation attributes great importance to relaxing international tension and to transferring it to the military sphere--especially in Europe, where there is the highest concentration of armed forces.

The Madrid meeting can play an important role in submitting a proposal to convene a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe, which is being proposed by the socialist countries. Other participating states, too, are preparing proposals concerning issues of disarmament.

We are convinced that only such an approach--and not inundating Western Europe with new American medium-range missiles--can promote progress on the path toward detente in the military sphere, J. Knizka stressed.

Against Distortion of Facts

The Czechoslovak delegate further pointed out that some speakers are trying to drag into the deliberations in Madrid issues that have no bearing on the meeting. Such an approach cannot contribute to the talks' success. The Czechoslovak delegation not only absolutely disagrees with the interpretation of the events in Afghanistan as made by the heads of some delegations--because it is at variance with truth--but at the same time rejects the illicit use of the meeting for gross distortions of the Soviet Union's policy.

The complicated international situation enhances the significance of the Madrid meeting. It will therefore be necessary to take advantage of all opportunities offered to the delegations to achieve agreement on practical steps to consolidate security and cooperation in Europe.

The deliberations at the preparatory meeting, deplorably, did not result--as a consequence of insufficient understanding on the part of some countries' delegations, which pursued their own unilateral interests--in working out a final document on the course of the deliberations. The CSSR delegation, alongside other delegations, exerted great efforts in that respect. We hope, J. Knizka stressed, that a realistic approach will finally prevail even among those delegations and that an agreement will be reached.

POLISH DELEGATE SPEAKS ON PROBLEMS OF DETENTE, FINAL ACT

I.D190312 Warsaw PAP in English 0200 GMT 19 Nov 80

[By PAP correspondent Jan Dziedzic]

[Text] Madrid, 18 Nov (PAP)--The head of the Polish delegation to the Madrid meeting, Poland's vice minister of foreign affairs, Professor Marian Dobrosielski, delivered a speech today during the debate on the main problems of detente in the context of implementing the decision of the CSCE Final Act.

"The Madrid meeting is being held in a complicated political, military, social and economic international situation. The meeting can influence the improvement of this situation or make it worse". Professor Dobrosielski criticized attempts to turn the Madrid meeting into a propaganda platform, to use it as an instrument of pressure and interference in the domestic affairs of other countries. Dobrosielski appealed for observance of the principle of equality and mutual respect.

Dobrosielski continued: "The arms race is the main reason for East-West tension, with its negative influence on politics, economy, social life and international morality. NATO's 1978 decisions to considerably boost the military budget and the fatal December 1979 decision to introduce new generations of U.S. nuclear missiles to Western Europe are a source of a marked increase of tension in recent years.

"The Warsaw Treaty states have frequently come out in support of searching for guarantees of maintaining a relative military equilibrium, decreasing the level of armaments and military confrontation". The Polish delegate appealed for a serious review of the constructive proposals contained in the declaration of the Warsaw Treaty states' Political Consultative Committee, adopted on May 15, and many other documents signed by socialist states.

"The Warsaw Treaty organization's well-known proposals concerning the need to call a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe as well as the projects and suggestions put forth by France, Sweden, Finland and other neutral and non-aligned states are--despite considerable differences--a foundation for searching for necessary agreement".

The leader of the Polish delegation concluded that work should be concentrated on the joint striving to work out a mandate for the conference on military detente and disarmament which would be broad and flexible enough to embrace common elements and enable negotiations on the matter.

CHARTER 77 ACTIVISTS PETITION DELEGATES ON HUMAN RIGHTS

LD181127 Paris LE MATIN in French 13 Nov 80 p 12

[Unattributed report: "Letter Written From Prison by Vaclav Benda, Jiri Dienstbier and Vaclav Havel"]

[Text] Vaclav Benda is a historian and mathematician; Jiri Dienstbier is a former television journalist; Vaclav Havel is a writer and dramatist. All three have been imprisoned at Hermanice in Czechoslovakia for having actively participated in the Charter 77 human rights movement and in VONS, the Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted. They are addressing this letter to the Madrid conference in the hope that the debates held there may contribute to the reduction of international tension, the removal of the threat of war and the establishment of genuine disarmament talks.

"We believe that our action, particularly in the sphere of science or culture--where all sections of society meet--has contributed, if only modestly, to the maintenance of peace and equilibrium in Europe and thus to peaceful tolerance in a world threatened more than ever by self-destruction.

"Our action within Charter 77 and VONS--the Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted--has been and remains directly in the spirit of the provisions of the Helsinki conference Final Act. In fact, as this manifesto shows, the creation of the Charter 77 movement was directly inspired by that conference's Final Act.

"Like the delegates to the Helsinki conference, we consider the Final Act an indivisible whole no section of which could be in the sphere of human and civil rights can help the discussions on political detente in Europe to progress [as published]. Political discrimination against the citizens of any country, nonrespect for democratic principles in civilian life, control of the information media, social discrimination, victimization and persecution of dissidents, suppression of freedom of religion, thought and conscience and the subordination of art and science to utilitarian ideological imperatives, all these failures contribute to social tension and thus strengthen the repressive powers of a state in the service of a ruling class.

"In states where an omnipotent police force and other means of repression are continuously developing, the elected representatives yield to the all-pervading nervousness and feel their prerogatives increasingly threatened. In certain circumstances, tense international relations are a good pretext for taking repressive measures against those who took those elected representatives' election promises seriously and are demanding that they be implemented. We are thus convinced that it is essential that the Madrid conference delegates examine closely the problem of human and civil rights in the very interests of peace. In line with the conference objectives, we ask the delegates to lay down the following principles: to demand that each signatory to the Helsinki conference Final Act draw up a list of its political prisoners and set up commissions of inquiry to monitor the reasons for imprisonment of political prisoners according to the law of the country concerned and the Final Act as well as according to the international convention on human and citizens rights and to report on the political prisoners' conditions of imprisonment and state of health.

"We profoundly believe that the success of the Madrid discussions first entails the democratization of civilian life in every country.

"[Signed] V.B., J.D., V.H."

PARTY DAILY URGES APPRECIATION OF AGRICULTURAL INVESTMENTS

AU141510 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 4 Nov 80 p 1

[Editorial: "A Better Appreciation of the Realization of Agricultural Investments Is Required"]

[Text] Agricultural investments are directly linked to the implementation of tasks defined by the party to continually increase current and future agricultural production. The great majority of investments are made by the agricultural enterprises themselves, while a very small part by enterprises under the Ministry of Construction.

Realizing planned agricultural investments is an important task. However, this year's 9-month data show that there are marked differences between various enterprises. There are agricultural enterprises, such as the "Liberation" enterprise in Albasan, Hoxhare in Fier District, Krume in Kukes District and others, that have fulfilled and surpassed investments to increase acreage and soil fertility, whereas some other agricultural enterprises, such as those of Gose and Sukth in Durres District, Roskovec in Fier District, the Vlore "Youth" enterprise and others, have fulfilled less than 55 percent of their plans in the 9-month entry of investments.

In some swampland reclamation enterprises there are differences between sites. For example, such an enterprise in Shkoder fulfilled its plan by 85 percent, but the Shkoder site fulfilled it by 96 percent, while those of Lezhe and Tropoje by 64 percent and that of Puke by 66 percent. The "other investments" of forestry enterprises, which include investments for the growth of new woodlands and the improvement of grazing land, have been fulfilled 78.8 percent on a 9-month basis. The forestry enterprises of Tepelene, Kukes, Permet and others appear to be weaker.

As it happens, it will be necessary in these 2 months to take strong measures to better organize work and fulfill planned annual investments. At the same time, comprehensive technical and organizational measures will be required so that next year's plan will begin properly in January. But some major problems have arisen from the indicators on the fulfillment of the agricultural investment plan:

First of all, it is necessary to create a correct understanding of the role and importance of investments in agricultural and livestock development. These are concerned with increasing the principal assets, that is acreage and soil fertility, through various productive projects, increasing assets in the livestock sector, extending fruitgrowing, expanding forestry acreage and improving the utilization of water resources in the soil and so forth. The party's organizational work should aim at making it deeply understood that as the main road for the development of our socialist agriculture we cannot achieve defined objectives to intensify agricultural production and increase the yield of agricultural crops and the productivity of animals without placing production on the basis of realizing planned investments and without continually increasing them.

Better studied work on a healthy scientific basis is required for planning agricultural investments. More than a few cases occur, especially in the agricultural cooperatives and the forestry enterprises, where the necessary material base and manpower have not been stipulated, although funds for investment have been determined. In the same way, there have been cases where various projects have been planned without first drafting the necessary designs and budgets or determining construction sites. This results in delaying the beginning of works and the plan of the first quarterly period according to the agricultural ministry's data. Sometimes the plan of the first 6-month period is often fulfilled with a much lower percentage than that of the third and fourth quarterly periods. The removal of this shortcoming requires a greater effort by the respective directorates of the Ministry of Agriculture and also the directing state economic organs in the districts, agricultural enterprises and agricultural cooperatives. It should be well and deeply understood by everyone that the first and very important step to fulfill the plan is made with the real and scientific planning of investments.

There are still shortcomings in following up on the realization of agricultural investment plans. Directing organs of some agricultural cooperatives, agricultural and forestry enterprises do not systematically pursue the problem of investments, and their appreciation of them is not at the required level. Continually taken up with operative seasonal tasks throughout the year, many directors take little responsibility for and interest in fulfilling investment plans in a timely manner. Investment sectors or brigades have been set up in many cooperatives and agricultural and forestry enterprises. However, these have not yet been placed in strong work positions everywhere, nor has much care been shown for the qualification of those who work there. In some cases, in the periodical analyses that are made by these sectors or brigades in many enterprises, the reasons for the nonfulfillment of plans are not well defined and the resulting responsibility not evident. As a result, ways to eliminate shortcomings have still not been found. Therefore, the strengthening of comprehensive work with these brigades or sectors is an important task for the directing economic organs in fulfilling investment plans.

Agricultural investments are first concerned with the future development of production. They are a powerful material support for higher yields from plants and animals. This is why the People's Council executive committees and their relevant sections should take this up in a better and more concrete way. This is where we need aid and a continual, concrete and comprehensive technical, material and organizational control, especially for agricultural cooperatives.

Also in the Ministry of Agriculture, the relevant directorates, especially those of the agricultural enterprises, forestry, budget and agricultural cooperatives, should better follow up the fulfillment of investment plans. This work has been left to be pursued by the investment branch of this ministry almost by itself. It is a fact that in every quarterly period this branch is tied to and directly takes data from the enterprises or institutions which have investment tasks within the agricultural system. It is obvious that the required results will not be forthcoming without a complete commitment by the relevant directorates, especially the operational ones, to the implementation of tasks also in the investments sphere.

According to tasks defined by the Eighth AWP Central Committee plenum, agricultural investments for the next 5-year plan will carry a heavy and important weight in t' _ plan for agricultural development. This is the party's correct policy for agricultural development to transform agricultural cooperatives and enterprises into modern economies of extended socialist reproduction and to develop agriculture on a scientific basis, thus further raising its material and technical base. This constitutes a necessity to fulfill the people's and the economy's increased needs with agricultural and pastoral products. Under the conditions of the intensification of an all-round crisis in the capitalist-revisionist world, the struggle for the modernization of agriculture becomes more acute so that the people's well-being will be continually raised. Therefore, the important question of investments has a political and economic nature, and the party committees in the districts should be better and continually concerned with this.

COMMENTATOR VIEWS TRANSITION, KISSINGER TALKS WITH BOTHA

LD181749 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1130 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Viliam Roth commentary]

[Text] Even before the meeting of the American presidential election rivals--and this should take place on Thursday--Ronald Reagan asked James Carter not to make any decision conflicting with the election platform of the Republicans in the period till 20 January when Reagan will take over. Reagan's wish was passed on to Jack Watson, Carter's envoy, by Edwin Meese, Reagan's envoy for the so-called transition, which means taking over office.

It must be said that such an unusual wish, if it is not supposed to be a challenge based on Reagan's convincing victory in the election, has marked the initial relations between the White House and its future tenant. Yet Carter has hurried to assure Reagan that he will help to create the best possible conditions for his inauguration. In the days when President Carter limited his duties to an almost exclusive concern about the return of the American hostages from Iran, Reagan's so-called transition team announced that the economic program of the future government had been drafted but they did not state any details. With a clear intention of pointing out the catastrophic management of the American economy during Carter's administration, Reagan has also announced that his administration is taking over responsibility for the economy of the country.

But it is not only questions of internal policy in which his staff takes increasing interest. One of its members, Henry Kissinger, former secretary of state in Nixon's administration, has already been heard to state his opinion in the question of the American hostages, and was sure to cause an upheaval when he voiced his misgivings about the participation of the government in the whole problem. His visit to Paris, where among other things he was to meet the minister of foreign affairs of the racist Republic of South Africa, Roelof Botha, caused a similar upheaval to say the least. For 4 and 1/2 years, which is during the whole term of the present President Carter, a so-called contact group, consisting of the representatives of France, Britain, Canada, the FRG, and under the patronage of the United States, could not succeed in coming to any agreement about the Namibia question. Pretoria's obstructive policy toward the United Nations and Namibia is strikingly similar to the policy of Israel. Kissinger's visit to Paris is no longer his private affair. It proves to what extent the West strives to support the racist regime in the South African Republic and rejects the just demand for independence of Namibia. A lot has been said in this connection about the coordinated action of the West and about the attempts to solve the Namibian problem on the basis of the so-called British model in Rhodesia, which means to go on keeping power over Namibia and its natural riches.

ALARM 'UNDERSTANDABLE BUT PREMATURE' ON REAGAN'S SOVIET POLICY

AU181552 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 13 Nov 80 P 2

[Vladimir Till article: "Reagan and Moscow"]

[Text] Ronald Reagan will be the 12th U.S. President since the establishment of the Soviet Union. During this time various people took their turn in the White House in Washington--six Democrats and five Republicans; good, average and bad statesmen. On the whole one can say that they devotedly served their class and the system that had cultivated them to conform to its own image and entrusted them with great power. It is also true of them that none of them had in any way influenced the principled policy of the Soviet Government, although they all strove to achieve it, each of them in his own way.

In relations between Washington and Moscow there have been periods of mutually beneficial cooperation, as well as long periods of sudden chills and crises. At present, in connection with the election of Ronald Reagan who is said to be a conservative, right-wing politician, the people throughout the world are asking how the globally immensely important American-Soviet relationship will develop further. People recall its present low level, caused not so much by the weak President Carter as by his stubbornly anti-communist adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski. They fear that should the declining trend in political and economic contacts continue then new serious international complications could ensure.

The alarm is understandable, but premature. Reagan, who has no practical personal experience in foreign policy, will yet have to acquaint himself with the letters of its alphabet. What he expounded at campaign meetings was rhetoric, calculated to impress certain hotheaded voters; but it can scarcely pass muster as a serious program of the coming American Government. Reagan's "theses" contain far too many contradictions and conflicting aspects, and far too many simplified amateurish answers to the most complicated current issues for them to be taken at their face value. That is why we judge that it will be wiser to bide our time in shaping a final opinion, until the new president becomes reconciled to the fact that the real world substantially differs from the California mirage. If he does not succeed in this, all the worse for him.

The Soviet Union knows that in the foreseeable future a man will be sitting in the White House with whom it is not easy to come to an understanding. The two great powers are separated by a high obstacle of different ideologies, social systems and economic orders. But rational agreements among developed countries do not need a coalescence of souls--what is decisive is the awareness of inevitability, a constructive approach, and then strict adherence to the treaty conditions voluntarily accepted by both sides. As is known, in Carter's case one could not rely on the president's words: His "inability" [neschopnost] to bring the signed SALT II treaty to ratification by the U.S. Senate says everything. However, there are also positive examples of well functioning agreements from the time of preceding Washington administrations, both Democratic and Republican, from which one can proceed in searching for ways out of blind alleys in the current American-Soviet relations.

A temporary period of "moving households" has now started in Washington; it will last at least up to Reagan's inauguration on 20 January. Until that date, and probably even after that, the new U.S. domestic and foreign policy will be shaping itself. In many aspects it will depend on the stature of people who the president will summon to his government. It is being rumored that he is counting on Henry Kissinger for the post of secretary of state--a man with considerable, and not unfruitful, experience in that function. For instance, he knows that the Soviet policy is steadfast and principled, but does not succumb to time-serving ups and downs; that makes it easier to take up the broken contacts again, of course, on condition that the same is manifested by Washington.

REPORTAGE CONTINUES ON VISIT OF SOVIET MINISTER DEMICHEV

Wreath Laying

LD181112 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] Members of the official Soviet delegation attending the Days of Soviet Culture in Czechoslovakia led by Petr Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and minister of culture, today placed wreaths at the tomb of the unknown soldier and in the Hall of the Soviet Army in the national memorial on Zizkov Hill in Prague. They also paid homage with red flowers to the memory of Klement Gottwald, outstanding representative of the CPCZ and the international communist movement, and signed the visitors' book.

Afterwards, the Soviet guests placed a wreath at the Soviet soldiers' memorial at the Soviet Army's central burial place of honor at Olsany Cemetery. They were accompanied during these solemn acts by Deputy Federal Prime Minister Matej Lucan and Czech Minister of Culture Milan Klusak. Soviet Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Aleksandr Botvin was also present.

Opening of Cultural Exhibition

LD181116 Prague CTK in English 2042 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] Prague, 17 Nov (CETEKA)--The Days of Soviet Culture in Czechoslovakia, the traditional culmination of Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation in culture and arts, were opened here on Monday.

The opening was attended by Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal and other Communist Party Presidium members Vasil Bilak and Vaclav Hula, Central Committee Secretary Jan Fojtik and other officials.

Present was also an official Soviet delegation, led by Communist Party Politburo candidate member and Minister of Culture Petr Demichev.

Czech Minister of Culture Milan Klusak pointed out in his speech that the Days of Soviet Culture will acquaint the Czechoslovak people with outstanding Soviet soloists and ensembles, naming the ballet ensemble of the Leningrad Kirov Theater, the symphony orchestra of the Moscow Philharmonic, and the Moiseyev State Ensemble of dances of the nations of the Soviet Union. He especially appreciated the participating of highly representative delegations of all creative artists' unions.

He stressed that Czechoslovak artists traditionally join the program of the Days of Soviet Culture and recalled this year's Days of Russian and Soviet Music in Mlada Boleslav (Central Bohemia).

Milan Klusak thanked the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and the Soviet Government, especially the Ministry of Culture, for careful preparation of the days.

Soviet Deputy Minister of Culture Georgiy Ivanov recalled the Days of Czechoslovak culture in the Soviet Union, held on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of Czechoslovakia's liberation, which were especially successful all over the country.

The representatives of Soviet culture who are taking part in the days of Soviet culture in Czechoslovakia well know that they will perform in a country with a rich cultural tradition. That is why they feel considerably responsible and will strive for dignified presentation of Soviet art, Georgiy Ivanov stressed.

Speaks on 'Forces of Reaction'

LD182234 Prague CTK in English 2040 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Text] Prague, 18 Nov (CETEKA)--The unity and cohesion of fraternal countries is the key factor of international stability and resistance to the militarist policy of international reaction, Soviet Minister of Culture Petr Demichev said at Drin near Prague Tuesday.

Petr Demichev was speaking at a meeting of the Soviet delegation to the days of Soviet Culture in Czechoslovakia with workers of the new section of the Poldi Kladno steelworks at Drin.

It is not by chance that the forces of reaction are exerting extrordinary effort to undermine the principles of proletarian internationalism and cohesion of the socialist countries.

Such slogans are [word indistinct] as, for instance, "free trade unions", "human rights" and the like. The new soviet constitution clearly shows that the working people (?have) in the conditions of socialism rights to work, rest, medical care and many other rights lacked by the working people in capitalist states.

Trade unions, associating people of the same profession, have nowhere such broad rights and such real freedom as in socialist society. All this is no formality, but real socialist democracy, Petr Demichev said.

From Kladno, the Soviet guests went to the nearby Lidice, razed to the ground by Nazis in World War II, and laid a wreath at the grave of 173 victims.

Cultural Cooperation Plan

LD181736 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1400 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Text] The plan of cultural and scientific cooperation between the CSSR and the USSR for 1981-1986 was signed in the Cernin Palace in Prague today by Matej Lucan, member of the Central Committee of the CPCZ and deputy premier of the federal government, and by Petr Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and minister of culture. The document deepens and extends Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation and stresses the qualitative indicators which bring Czechoslovak and Soviet creators together. It ensures permanent familiarization with culture and exchange of the best solists and artistic bodies of both countries.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED ON VISIT OF HUNGARY'S KADAR

AU181326 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Nov 80 p 1

[Joint CSSR-Hungarian communique issued on the visit by Hungarian party leader Janos Kadar to Bratislava on 12 November]

[Text] Janos Kadar, MSZMP Central Committee first secretary, paid a friendly working visit to the CSSR on 12 November 1980 at the invitation of Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president.

In talks that were held in Bratislava, the leading representatives of the two fraternal parties and countries informed one another about the fulfillment of the conclusions of the 15th CPCZ Congress and the 12th MSZMP Congress, and about topical tasks which the Czechoslovak and Hungarian people are resolving in the present stage of the construction of an advanced socialist society. Comrade Husak informed Comrade Kadar about the preparations for the 16th CPCZ Congress.

Comrades Husak and Kadar assessed the main directions of further development of the two countries' and parties' mutual cooperation. They expressed the satisfaction that the conclusions and adopted documents on the official friendly visit by a CSSR party and government delegation to the Hungarian People's Republic in 1977 are being bilaterally, successfully fulfilled, and that they are contributing to an all-round development of mutual cooperation arising from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Firm ties between the CPCZ and MSZMP, common interests and objectives in building socialist society, and firm friendship and alliance with the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community are of decisive importance for the further strengthening and deepening of the fraternal bonds of friendship and Czechoslovak-Hungarian cooperation.

They noted with satisfaction that the economic, cultural and scientific-technical cooperation between the CSSR and the Hungarian People's Republic is successfully developing. The cooperation and specialization of production is deepening, and the mutual trade exchange is increasing. They emphasized lasting interest in expanding mutual economic relations on the basis of the agreed coordination of their 5-year plans for the 1981-85 period, as well as the urgent need to further deepen multilateral cooperation in the implementation of the common programs of the CEMA countries.

The two leading representatives also exchanged views on topical issues of the current situation in the world and in the international communist and workers movement. They stressed the decisive significance of firm unity, cohesion and common course of the countries of the socialist community in the struggle for socialism and the consolidation of peace, and for the relaxation of international tension and disarmament. They affirmed the determination of the two fraternal parties and countries to continue contributing to the common struggle of the states of the socialist community and progressive forces against the aggressive policy of imperialism striving to renew the cold war.

In the spirit of the objectives formulated at the session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact this May and at the latest consultation of the committee of the Warsaw Pact's ministers of foreign affairs, the CSSR and the Hungarian People's Republic will support at the Madrid meeting the further development of the process of relaxation of tension, strengthening peace and security in Europe, as well as deepening mutually beneficial cooperation among countries with different social systems. In harmony with that, they valued the principled peace policy of the Soviet Union and the initiative of the Soviet Government, whose objective is to strengthen security in Europe and disarmament.

Gustav Husak and Janos Kadar stressed the firm solidarity of the two fraternal parties with the Polish communists. They expressed support for the PZPR's endeavor that the Polish workers class and the Polish people will, under its leadership, repel the onslaught of antisocialist forces as well as the attempts of international imperialism to interfere in the internal affairs of the Polish People's Republic, and resolve the country's current political and economic problems on the principles of socialism.

They affirmed that the CSSR and the Hungarian People's Republic will continue to firmly stand on the side of the nations fighting for freedom and independence, against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism.

They emphasized the need to solve all conflicts endangering world peace and international security by political means in accordance with the interests of the nations involved. They expressed their full support for the struggle of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan for independence and the country's democratic development, and for the international political initiative striving to ensure that state's peace and security.

The CPCZ and MSZMP will do everything in future for the further expansion of cooperation among the states of the socialist community, for the strengthening of the unity of the international communist and workers movement, and for the common course of progressive anti-imperialist forces in the struggle for social progress and world peace.

The working meeting between Gustav Husak and Janos Kadar was held in a comradely, cordial and friendly atmosphere of mutual understanding. It affirmed the full accord of views on all issues discussed, and contributed to the further deepening of all-round cooperation between the two parties and states.

Editorial on Communique, 'Unity'

AU181040 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Nov 80 p 1

[Editorial: "Cooperation and Unity"]

[Excerpt] In the same way that the successes of our friends fill us with joy, we cannot remain indifferent if some fraternal party encounters difficulties or finds itself face to face with a grave danger.

The communique on the fraternal working meeting [between Husak and Kadar] states that Comrades Gustav Husak and Janos Kadar have stressed that firm solidarity of both fraternal parties with the Polish communists, and expressed support for the PZPR's effort to enable the Polish workers class and the Polish people under its leadership to ward off the onslaught of antisocialist forces, as well as the attempts by international imperialism to interfere in the internal affairs of the Polish People's Republic, and to successfully resolve the current political and economic problems of the country on the principles of socialism.

Life constantly confirms the fact that the substance of world imperialism never changes, that its aims always remain the same. It is still striving to acquire world domination, and spares neither strength nor effort to halt and reverse mankind's development toward a socially just society. The imperialist forces do not shy away from any means to regain positions in all those places in which they lost them in revolutionary struggles. Likewise, imperialism ways never concerned with "improving" socialism, as claimed by the Western anticommunist propaganda; it is merely concerned with eliminating socialism. History has provided quite a few convincing proofs of this.

As the Bratislava talks of the top representatives of our two fraternal parties and countries again stressed, the unity of the countries of the socialist community is not only not losing any of its urgency and topicality at present, but its significance is steadily on increasing. It is the most appropriate answer to the systematic efforts of world reaction to coordinate its campaign against socialism and progress. The unity of socialist countries has always been the target of imperialism's attacks. In the past it never missed an opportunity for weakening the countries of the socialist community, and at present it is also striving to achieve this.

The unity and cohesion of socialist countries does not serve the defense of the achievements of socialism alone. It is a force that has a far wider impact. It is the support of all forces of progress, of the protagonists of peace and social justice, of the adversaries of lawlessness. The front of all these forces establishes a favorable climate for consolidating the atmosphere of peace and understanding among the peoples; it is pushing imperialism and the reaction onto the defensive. A concrete expression of the influence of the forces of socialism and progress on the course of events in the world is the fact that the peoples of Europe have been living these almost four decades in peace. The countries of the socialist community, aware of their historic responsibility, are investing all their authority, all their potential, all their efforts into the service of peace and security of the peoples.

KEMPNY RECEIVES BULGARIAN DEPUTY STATE COUNCIL CHAIRMAN TAKOV

LD181728 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Text] Josef Kempny, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, received today Peko Takov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the State Council. In the course of a friendly meeting they exchanged views on the construction of socialism in the two countries and on the further development of cooperation between our parties and countries.

KAMPUCHEA'S HENG SAMRIN, STROUGAL BEGIN TALKS 17 NOV

LD182253 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1700 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Excerpt] Talks began today in Hrzan Palace between a Czechoslovak delegation headed by Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee, and a delegation of the Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation and the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea headed by Heng Samrin. During the talks the heads of the delegations briefed each other on the major tasks which Czechoslovakia and Kampuchea are now solving as well as on their future plans.

Heng Samrin spoke about the danger which still hangs over his country and which is constituted by U.S. imperialism and Chinese hegemonism. He stressed that the main efforts of the Kampuchean people now are concentrated on restoring the ruined economy. In the past 2 years the security of the state has been secured and the threat of famine averted. Thanks to the selfless help of the Soviet Union, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the other fraternal socialist countries the first steps have been taken in restoring industrial and agricultural production. The government is devoting great attention to the development of education, the health service and culture as well as to the struggle against illiteracy.

Lubomir Strougal paid tribute to the results achieved by Kampuchea in consolidating revolutionary power and the state as well as the progress achieved in mornalizing public life. He informed the Kampuchean guests about the tasks connected with the preparation of the 16th CPCZ Congress and the orientation of the Seventh 5-Year Plan for economic development in 1981-1985. He said that cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the Kampuchean People's Republic is developing successfully in the political, economic and cultural spheres and that useful contacts have been established in education, the health services, exchange of information and between mass organizations.

In his speech Lubomir Strougal also explained the chief principles underlying Czechoslovakia as regards the solution of the most pressing foreign political issues and problems. Finally he assured the guests that Kampuchea has sincere friends in Czechoslovakia and that the Czechoslovak people will continue to provide effective aid and support.

JAKES RECEIVES AFGHAN PARTY ECONOMIC COMMISSION DELEGATION

AU180850 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Nov 80 p 1

[Report signed (Z): "Comradely Discussion"]

[Text] Prague, 14 Nov (Z)--Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium candidate member and secretary, received on Friday a delegation of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan [PDPA] led by (Baris Ranzber), deputy chairman of the PDPA Central Committee's economic commission.

In a comradely discussion the delegation was acquainted with the implementation of the party policy and with the results and experience from the construction of socialist agriculture in the CSSR, and supplied information about the work of the PDPA.

The reception was attended by Julius Varga, head of a CPCZ Central Committee department.

During its 1-week working stay in our country, the delegation had talks with ranking personnel of the state planning commission and the CSSR Ministry of Agriculture and Food, and visited some unified farmers cooperatives, state farms and enterprises of the dairy and meat industries.

INDRA, DELEGATION CONTINUE VISIT TO SRI LANKA

Speech at Dinner

LD171440 Prague CTK in English 2020 GMT 16 Nov 80

[Text] Colombo, 16 Nov (CTK)--Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Chairman Alois Indra expressed the conviction here last night that political, economic and cultural relations between Czechoslovakia and Sri Lanka will continue to expand and deepen. Indra was speaking at a dinner given in honour of the visiting Czechoslovak parliamentary delegation by the chairman of Sri Lanka parliament, Abdul Bakir Markar.

On Sunday, the Czechoslovak delegation met with representatives of Sri Lankan Government and the opposition Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) for informal talks in the seaside resort of Beruvely south of here.

Meeting With Jayawardene

LD181122 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] Sri Lanka--President Junius Richard Jayawardene received in Colombo today a Czechoslovak parliamentary delegation led by Alois Indra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Federal Assembly, which has been on an official visit in Sri Lanka since last Thursday. Alois Indra conveyed cordial greetings from Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak, together with wishes for the development and intensification of all-round relations with Sri Lanka. At the same time, he pointed out the good tradition of contacts between the two countries and, in particular, stressed mutual visits between the foreign ministers of the two countries during the past few years. The participants in the meeting also discussed possibilities of expanding economic cooperation.

Also today, Alois Indra met with a delegation of Sri Lanka communists led by Sugiswara Abeywardena Wickremasinghe, chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka. They exchanged views on questions of mutual interest and briefed each other about the fulfillment of programs set at the last congresses of both parties. The Czechoslovak delegation is to conclude its visit to Sri Lanka today and will leave tomorrow morning on an official visit to India.

HUSAK CABLES INTERNATIONAL LAWYERS CONGRESS ON MALTA

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[Text] Prague, 13 Nov (CETEKA)--Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak has sent a message to the 11th congress of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers in La Valletta, Malta, stressing the need for resolute resistance by progressive peace-loving forces against hazarding the fate of mankind by imperialist forces.

Gustav Husak recalled the deterioration of the international situation resulting from the continued arms race, and said that foiling aggressive plans and settling open problems of the present-day world by peaceful means is the path corresponding with the interests of all nations. The path to peaceful coexistence and development of international cooperation would be paved by the implementation of proposals submitted by Warsaw Treaty member states in the declaration of the Political Consultative Committee in May.

[Passage indistinct] and the adoption of practical measures for implementing all provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, especially a decision to convene a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe, would significantly contribute to the consolidation of security, cooperation and peace in Europe, the message said. It added that Czechoslovakia will continue to contribute consistently to the policy of peace, detente and international security.

HOFFMANN ADDRESSES TRADE UNION PLENUM 29 OCTOBER

AU170830 Prague PRACE in Czech 13 Nov 80 pp 3, 4, 5

["From the Concluding Speech" by Karel Hoffmann, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, URO, at the 10th URO plenary session held on 29 October in Prague: "Uniformly and In Full Activity To Meet the Party Congress"]

[Text] Dear esteemed comrades, in concluding I would like to speak on four questions: the course and results of the 10th URO plenary session, the consequences of resolutions adopted by the 18th party Central Committee session for trade union work, the problems tied to the role of socialist trade unions in the present period and, finally, the inevitability of further perfecting all trade union activity.

As to the present URO session I think that, apart from all the positive things that have been manifested here and that have already become traditional for URO sessions, it has also revealed certain new aspects. The discussion was extremely active--39 people spoke in it, who expressed the URO's unambigious stand and also the way our working people think.

It is no coincidence that representatives of certain trade unions prevailed among the people who spoke in the discussion. It is only natural that they included nine metal workers, four builders and several functionaries each from the trade unions of workers in the textile, garment and tanning industry, the timber industry and the medical care sector. This corresponds to the problems that are being solved in branches where these unions are working, as well as to problems in the work of the unions.

It is also important that, apart from the functionaries working in Bratislava, the representatives of all our regional organizations also spoke in the discussion. Moreover, certain of the largest organizations spoke through several of their representatives. It is important that both the all union functionaries and the functionaries of individual unions spoke here, as did a large number of men and women comrades coming directly from basic organizations, who had contributed to the successful course of our negotiations. Likewise, and this must always be noted, it is important that new names have again appeared in the list of discussion speakers. Even those who did not speak at all since the Ninth All-Trade Union Congress, did so this time. This is really a pleasant fact and it will be a good thing if the list lengthens at the coming sessions, to include members and candidate members who have so far not spoken.

We Unambiguously Support the Communist Party's Policy

And now to the discussion itself. It may be assessed as very businesslike and specific. It may be characterized as very frank, critical and self-critical: It has yielded a lot of valuable suggestions, which it will be right to use in our further work. Those that were addressed to the URO will be dealt with by the Presidium and Secretariat; other suggestions will be dealt with by individual organizations or all-union bodies.

Regarding the contents: What have both the discussion and all the deliberations shown? They primarily showed that the URO and the entire revolutionary trade union movement [ROH] unambiguously and actively support the CPCZ's policy and its efforts to ensure the further advance of our national economy and all of our society; and that they profess full allegiance to the tasks following from the decision of the latest Central Committee session on convening the 16th CPCZ Congress.

I regard it as a significant fact that the URO has fully identified itself, both in the discussion and also through the documents it approved, with the analysis of the situation as submitted and promulgated in the URO Presidium's report, and with the proposals for the further course of the ROH's activities. The discussion has shown quite convincingly and practically that Czechoslovakia's working people, members of our organization, welcome the resolution on convening the 16th congress and are determined to meet the congress with fulfilled pledges, with working initiative and further development of socialist competition, aimed at fulfilling and overfulfilling the planned tasks. That is also why such topics as initiative, pledges, competition and economy in general resounded here most often, and in fact prevailed at this session.

However, at the same time a whole number of justified reminders were voiced here on the shortcomings, obstacles, manifestations of formalism and the not always correct orientation of competition. We all, and particularly the people in the unions, should responsibly deal with all these reminders and strive more resolutely to establish favorable conditions to further develop initiative and competition. And the union bodies should again discuss with their ministerial partners and sector bodies the individual specific warnings [upozorneni] on the serious shortcomings in supplier-consignee relations, in material-technical supplies, management and organization of work, which resounded at the URO session. At the same time they should jointly reflect on how to overcome shortcomings in implementing the "Set of Measures to Improve the Planned Management System of the National Economy," the shortcomings in the plan's breakdown and in discussing it with the working people, all of which shortcomings have also been criticized here. If I am to briefly sum up what we have heard here--and of course not only here--it can be said that the discussion of the draft plan with the wroking people has only slightly improved; and in some places this practice has even worsened. This is an unacceptable situation and we must therefore do everything to prevent its being repeated in further phases.

We have listened with great interest to a number of statements on how individual bodies and organizations are striving to improve the standards of trade union work, to fulfill the "plan of ROH activities" and to ensure the conclusions adopted by the seventh URO plenary session, as well as to those pointing out problems that are cropping up in all this. I will return to this question later.

An important result of our deliberations is final approval of the ROH's main tasks in the period of preparations for the 16th congress. These are realistic and necessary tasks and that is why we should do everything for their fulfillment.

The 18th CPCZ Central Committee Session Provides a Clear Orientation

And now a few words on the consequences of the 18th CPCZ Central Committee session for our work. Much has been said about this in the Presidium report and you, too, have repeatedly reverted to the various aspects. However, I think that even toward the end of the present session it is necessary to call to mind certain factors and to emphasize them. We trade unionists are also entering a very important period. First, because it has been decided to convene a congress, which alone brings with it increased demands, such as balancing achieved results and also reflections on how to further improve activities, how to improve and develop the organization's course and how to formulate tasks for the coming period. And, of course, also because this is taking place in an extremely complicated situation, under conditions that are more exacting tasks. That alone indicates that our future work will not be easier but, on the contrary, substantially more difficult. And precisely for that reason we must realize all this, and do everything to enable the ROH, even in such circumstances, to cope with its task successfully. The prerequisite is a clear view of the situation, of the achieved results, of the standards of our work and of our future tasks.

Apart from other things, the significance of the 18th CPCZ Central Committee session also lies in the fact that it provides such an orientation, that it makes it possible, but also that it demands such an orientation. In this context, the significance of the 10th URO plenary session primarily lies in the fact that it already provides the first trade union answer both to the evaluation of achieved results and to the prospect of our further operations.

It is proper to recall the results with which we are entering the period of preparations for the 16th congress. This was pointed out in a very concise way by Comrade Husak when he said: "Our socialist society is entering the eighties as a politically firm, economically mature society, and one with a firm position in the world. The material resources and the social and spiritual forces that we have accumulated during the period of socialist construction and further multiplied in the period since the 15th congress, form reliable foundations to successfully cope with the tasks and demands of future years."

And in this connection it is important for us to have heard again how the working people and their trade union organizations are participating in these results. From the way our share was appraised at the 18th CPCZ Central Committee session it is obvious that the party appreciates our contribution; that it appraises it as a substantial contribution to realizing the party's efforts, to developing the national economy and the entire society. And it is exactly the objective appraisal of the achieved results that gives us, too, the certainty that the orientation of our activity is correct, certainty in our ability to master future tasks successfully.

It is also necessary to revert to the way the aims are formulated with which the party will come to the 18th congress. On the one hand we have further development of production and an increase of the economy's effectiveness and efficiency, and on the other hand the assurance and further qualitative improvement of the achieved high living standards of the people and the consolidation of their social certainties. This is of basic significance, especially in view of the conditions and circumstances accompanying our entry into the coming period, as they were dealt with in detail both in the report submitted here and particularly at the Central Committee session.

Of decisive significance is the fact that it has again been stressed that the main content and actual purpose of socialism is care for man's welfare, for an increasingly fuller satisfaction of the people's cultural and material needs and for their comprehensive development--and that we do not intend to change that goal in the least.

Of course, this simultaneously presumes that we will really push through and accomplish the main economic task; that is, to push through with greater determination the transition toward utilizing the intensive factors of economic growth, and particularly technical advance, as the only possible alternative and necessity if we want to ensure development. The methods of doing it, and the prerequisites that must be established for it, have already been dealt with here; I do not want to repeat all that. But one thing is certain, and this we must repeatedly call to mind: It is no easy task, it will require extraordinary efforts, and a contribution from everybody. We frequently repeat this, but let us reflect on one thing: Such an aim, such a demand was already formulated at the 15th party congress. As was appraised, we did not succeed in fully pushing it through under more favorable conditions. It confronts us all the more urgently now. We have no other possibility or alternative than to push this orientation through, fully and completely, now, in the coming period.

The Central Committee has also shown the paths that we must choose; the potential and reserves that we have, and that must be made use of; the problems and shortcomings that we must overcome; and the way to ward off the growing pressure of external conditions on the Czechoslovak national economy and all attempts to hamper our development by enemies.

To Apply Collective Commonsense More Effectively

The Central Committee places particular emphasis on the work of the entire party, on improvement of standards in managerial activities, on perfecting mass-political and political-educational work and, in this connection, on the operations of mass organizations, and particularly and above all, of the ROH. How the trade unions should contribute follows from the appraisal that explicitly resounded at the 18th session and which was cited here in the Presidium report. Of course, we should also draw conclusions for our own work from other words uttered by Comrade Husak at the session; I quote: "We must systematically see to it that the collective commonsense and experience of the working people are used and implemented more effectively in all sectors of social life. We regard it as the important guarantee of future successes to make better use than before of the creative forces, industrious nature, skill and conscious attitude of our people, both communists and nonmembers of the party, members of both the older and the coming generations." This demand also applies to us. And it is absolutely justified, because literally every working place has large reserves and potential that we are still not making use of.

We spoke about this often enough and most specifically during our deliberations. Nevertheless, and despite this, it is never superfluous to recall, for instance, the need to compare the level and development of the growth of basic resources, and particularly the machine equipment per worker, with the development of shift intensity and the utilization of working hours in industry, or else in the building industry, in order to make obvious the possibilities existing in this respect alone in a number of plants, enterprises and entire economic production units. It is also necessary to recall the overall decline in the utilization of basic assets, that is production, in terms of Kcs, per one Kcs of basic assets; the unnecessary growth of financial expenditures per Kcs of output; the temporary halt and scrapping of various products from export because of their inadequate quality--goods that had consumed a lot of valuable material, paid for in foreign currency and a lot of energy and human labor; or shortcomings in capital construction. Quite a number of large or small examples are known, which prove that one can build quicker and better, that it is possible to improve the quality of products and make better use of, and economize, raw and other materials and power. If we take into account even a few possibilities and unused reserves, we will see that we are not dealing here with trivialities, but with hundreds of millions--even with billions, which we are losing and squandering unnecessarily because of our own shortcomings, and which could serve society and lead to more rapid growth of the national income and to a further increase in living standards in our country.

If we fail to achieve this, if we fail to change that trend, then we will be unable to ensure the growth of the national income, or even to safeguard the high living standards already achieved; we will be unable to further perfect and expand them. Thus it is our duty to make use of the reserves and potential, all the more so as it is the only road leading to further, better development. The success of all our endeavors, all our future results depend on the extent to which we will succeed in this.

The interest in realizing the party's policy, in fulfilling the planned tasks, as well as the experience, devotion, abilities and qualifications of our working people make it possible to achieve those aims. We must ponder these matters in weighing now what we will bring to the party's 16th congress as members, as working people; what the entire ROH will bring with it, as the powerful active organization it is; and, self-evidently, what we ourselves will bring, as the top body of the trade union movement in the period between the congresses. We have given a clear reply to this today, at our 10th plenary session. But we must not rest here; it is our duty to reflect further, on how to contribute to and in what way to participate in this work with greater effect.

This, of course, means that increased attention must be devoted to developing working initiative; that we will see to a yet greater increase in socialist competition. You yourselves have said here that it is a feasible task. The working people have proven many times over that they are interested in doing more than is their working duty, that they want to make an active contribution to realizing the party's policy, to building the advanced socialist society. Your discussion has convincingly shown that this is the case now also.

Therefore it is the common task of trade union organizations, of economic workers, both to establish favorable conditions for implementing initiative and to support it. I mention this because we must not permit this extremely valuable expression of the working people's awareness and activity to drown in formalism, in paperwork, in disinterest; it must not be hampered by diverse unnecessary obstacles. That is why every trade union body and official should contribute to enabling the pledges, initiatives and competitions in honor of the 16th party congress to surpass all preceding results.

The Revolutionary Trade Unions Cannot Be Independent From Class Interests

Comrades, a few words now on the role of socialist trade unions in the phase of building an advanced socialist society. At present an intensive discussion is going on about this question, about the trade unions' position in socialist countries, about their role, their relationships and activities, particularly in connection with the developments in the Polish People's Republic [PPR].

Even though the last decade of developments in Czechoslovakia has confirmed that we in our country have drawn correct conclusions from the critical developments of 1968-70, and that we are striving to consistently implement those conclusions, it is never wrong to reflect on experience, to recall former lessons that one had learned and to further perfect trade union activities. It is thus of benefit to express our stand on these matters today also, matters that are so important for trade unionists.

In comparing certain knowledge acquired in contemporary Poland with what the critical years in Czechoslovakia had shown, we see much that is similar in the course taken by the antisocialist forces. There are, of course, also substantial differences, for instance in the method of "resolving" the matter of trade unions, of gaining influence over the trade unions, and the trade union's influence on the working people. In Czechoslovakia this method was characterized by the fact that rightwing and antisocialist forces had seized possession of the leadership of an existing unified trade union organization; that was possible because of the specific conditions, because of the support they had among the rightwing majority of the CPCZ leadership.

On the other hand the attack in Poland is being waged from without. The trade unions' unity is being broken up and other, oppositional trade unions are being set up. Even though it is not said explicitly, they are to be--as is becoming increasingly clearer--trade unions without communists, and against communists. In both instances--and again, this is concurrent--it was and is practically a matter of so-called new trade union policy, a matter of giving up the economic function, that means responsibility for developing the national economy. Pressure actions were, and are, being organized and only demands declared, regardless of whether they were/are realistic or not. If we follow the present developments in Poland, we see that increasingly broader, greater and increasingly less realistic demands are being proclaimed. This can be explained only in one way, in the very same way it was in Czechoslovakia in the past: Their authors are primarily concerned with disrupting the economy, creating an insoluble situation, deepening social tension and achieving political destabilization.

Substantially, the entire discussion about trade union problems is concentrated on three main questions: On the trade unions' position within the political system, on the character of trade union activities and their role, and on the trade unions' unity.

Let us take the first question, that of the trade unions' position within the political system of socialism. It is known that the demand for trade unions independence and freedom is now being vociferously proclaimed in Poland. One should ask what this means, how the demand is to be understood, what its aspects are. Such things should be clear to us, especially after we had drawn conclusions from the critical development in the ROH.

In the first place it is a question of the trade unions' relationship toward the workers class, of the interests of the workers class and its basic class interests. This is particularly important, because it is not merely a matter of direct daily needs and interests. Both in the past and at present, the workers class created a trade union organization as the instrument of its unification and organization, as the instrument of its class battle. From that it very unambiguously follows that the trade unions which want to fulfill that task cannot be independent and neutral regarding the workers class and its interests. Otherwise they lose purpose and significance for the workers class. From this it is obvious at the very first glance that if the question is posed otherwise, the trade union is meant to serve other political aims, of some other class. It is no coincidence that even those trade union organizations in the world, the leadership of which stands in the services of the monopolies--and there are quite a few such organizations--are loudly saying that they serve the workers class and the working people.

The Reliable Instrument of Unifiying the Workers Class

Another question is the trade unions' relationship toward political parties. We proceed from the premise that a revolutionary party is the vanguard and instrument of the workers class to promulgate basic class interests--that means, to overthrow capitalism, enthrone the power of the workers class and build a socialist society. If this is so, then the truly workers class and revolutionary trade unions, such as socialist trade unions--but also the revolutionary trade unions elsewhere in the world--cannot be independent; they cannot be neutral, they cannot be in opposition to the policy of such a revolutionary party.

History has verified many times that there is no other, better alternative for the working people than the policy of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties; neither is there another acceptable alternative for the revolutionary trade unions than to adopt that policy as their own, and to support it in an active, resolute and frank way. Otherwise they lose their revolutionary character and stop serving the workers class, the working people. Whatever anybody says about this, such is the objective reality, which has been confirmed by history many times over and cannot be disproved in any way. That is why the attacks against socialist trade unions for being bound to the communist party and supporting its policy express the endeavor to evoke distrust in those organizations. Those attacking the trade unions in the socialist countries in this way are at the same time concealing and modestly keeping silent about the substance of their own political orientation.

All trade union organizations throughout the world, in the capitalist and in the developing countries, reformist and Christian, and also those that call themselves autonomous and independent, even those that are shouting about neutrality and independence of political parties, they all are linked with certain political parties and with their policies which they also more or less overtly and obviously support. We could present many examples.

This feature of theirs, this position of theirs is particularly marked during parliamentary elections, when they unequivocally campaign for and support candidates of this or that political party. Some trade union organizations are even collective members of political parties. Ranking functionaries of many trade union organizations are members of the supreme executive organs of political parties.

At the same time, some of them had for a certain period of time the audacity to ask us about associating [vztah] with political parties, of course, not with political parties in general, but specifically (and that is precisely what bothers them) with the communist party. We have never ducked such discussion; on the contrary, we pointed out their "independence" of a political party and the discussion ended very quickly. They could not do anything else but admit that we are right. Why do they actually want to reproach us when they themselves are associated with a certain political party?

At the same time we cannot discuss how the policy of this or that party serves the working people, the workers class. Are they free to do it and we not? Thus there is something else involved; in the first place, to an association with any sort of party but with the communist party, and in the second place, not the essence of the question but the distortion of the picture of trade unions in the socialist countries. Of course, the objectives are even more far-reaching. If one succeeded in stopping such a mighty organization, associating the overwhelming majority of the working people, from supporting the country's leading force, it would have grave consequences. It would weaken [otrast] the system, it would lead to political and other consequences. And that is, above all, what all enemies of socialism want.

No matter whether one talks about it or not, no matter how much it is denied, in no political system--and even less so in the socialist system--can there be discussion of the independence of class interests, of this or that policy that expresses those class interests, that is, of the party that formulates that policy and implements it. To us this means that revolutionary trade unions cannot be independent of the revolutionary vanguard--of the communist party.

There is only one difference. We openly talk about it, they keep it secret, they conceal it. In a number of cases they have reason to keep it secret; because if they were openly to admit political associations and some associations with political parties, they would lose a considerable part of their membership base.

Comrades, our organization has a great tradition. We can proudly show with what continuity in this respect (with the exception of the crisis years) our organization distinguishes itself, what was and continues to be the position of the ROH. This is attested to, for example, by the opening speech delivered by Comrade Zapotocky at the Second All-Union Congress in December 1949, when he stated: "When the unified trade union movement and its actions were in principle in accord with the actions and demands of the Communist Party, when the trade union movement identified itself with the policy of the party and its Chairman Klement Gottwald, it was not because the ROH was giving up its independence and surbordinating it to the CPCZ leadership, but simply because the policy of the CPCZ showed itself to be the most correct, most honest and most socialist. It was not dictated by narrow party interests, but it pursued the interests and benefit of the entire workers class and all working people in Czechoslovakia. The orientation of the trade union movement toward the Communist Party showed itself to be correct." If Antonin Zapotocky had the right to speak like that in December 1949, then he in October 1980 can declare with profound conviction that those words fully confirmed, and the subsequent 31 years have reliably proven it, that our orientation toward the CPCZ and toward implementation of its policy is correct, that it is the only possible and only acceptable one for the ROH.

Thus when the ranking functionaries of the Solidarity organization--that is what the "new" trade unions in Poland are called--now refuse to include in their statutes the recognition of the PZPR's leading role, no matter what reasons they give for it or no matter how they camouflage it, it is evidence of the denial of the leading role of a revolutionary party, a display of a different orientation, of different goals that have nothing to do with the interests of socialism, with the interests of workers or the other working people of Poland. There is no other explanation for it, no other answer.

And, finally, it was openly expressed for them, for example, by the West German daily FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, when it wrote: "The new trade unions (meaning Solidarity) understand their own role absolutely [zcela] politically and would like to develop--if not into a second political center (that is, oppositional)--then at least into an instituted authority to control the party leadership."

Thus what is involved is nothing else than an attempt to eliminate, to liquidate the leading role of a revolutionary party, to change the domestic and foreign policy orientation, impair the foundations of socialist state power and reverse the country's socialist development.

With the Revolutionary Party's Support

Another issue is the relationship of socialist trade unions toward the socialist state, which is somewhat different from that to the party. We again proceed from the fact that the trade unions and the state in socialism have identical class foundations, that they recognize the same leading force and implement the same program and policy. Because the socialist state personifies the rule of the workers class and it is its power instrument, the state and the trade unions have identical basic goals. This presupposes, enables and requires cooperation between the socialist state and socialist trade unions. But at the same time there exists the division of work, objectively different places in the political system, different positions, other everyday relationships toward the working people. Differing views, different assessments of certain phenomena and also conflicts might and do arise from that; of course, not antagonistic conflicts, but matter-of-fact conflicts, conflicts that can be resolved within the framework of the existing social order, in the existing political system.

Lenin formulated this issue very clearly 60 years ago and the CPSU has referred to it several times and has been developing these formulations in variety of conditions. In essence, Lenin formulated the issue as follows: The task of trade unions is to protect the state of the working people and to protect the working people against excesses of the state apparatus, against bureaucracy and so forth.

From all that has been said it arises that trade unions, in their relationship with the state, should and can develop their activity independently; that they work independently of state bodies. What is involved is cooperation, not subordination. The trade unions in many respects even have the right to social control of the activity of the state apparatus and the opportunity to draw practical conclusions. All that is anchored in the Czechoslovak legal code.

It is completely natural that trade union bodies are not forced, but have the right, and also exercise that right--although not always as it would be needed--to criticize such phenomena and shortcomings. Of course, what is involved is not criticism of the socialist state as a power instrument, but criticism of deformations, bureaucracy, incorrectness and abuses, criticism when the rights of the working people and their trade unions are ignored by various bodies or officials of the state administration.

The struggle against phenomena that are at steep variance with the very essence and character of the socialist state and which discredit and weaken it, is the struggle for the socialist state, for its defense. It is the defense of the party line. For this reason such activity of socialist trade unions has the support of the revolutionary party.

What attention the CPSU has devoted to that can be demonstrated by two examples. One CPSU document says: "Trade unions are called upon to resolutely defend justified material, spiritual and other interests of workers against mistakes, errors and malfeasance of the socialist state, against violations of law, against formalism and delays."

And in another document we read: "Trade unions are obliged unconditionally to combat similar bureaucratic flaws of the state apparatus, must defend the interests of the working people, must, if possible, help raise their standard of living and systematically rectify errors and blunders committed by economic bodies, should they stem from the bureaucratism of the state apparatus."

This is a very clear and unambiguous characteristic of one aspect of the relationship of socialist trade unions to the socialist state.

It is known that our party also holds the same view, a matter that is the main guarantee of the development of that aspect of the ROH's activity.

In the interest of protecting the trade union organization against interference from state bodies, in 1973 the CSSR adopted Bill No 74 that invokes the International Labor Organization agreement of 1948 on the freedom of trade unions, on the protection of trade unions' rights, and which stipulates that the state administration must refrain from any intervention that would restrict that right.

The experience of the socialist countries has more than once confirmed that if this principle is violated, the result is deformation in the trade unions' activity, a matter that, in a complex situation--as was the case in Czechoslovakia in the years of crisis and as is the case in the PPR now--is clearly manifested by grave political consequences. Among other things it is manifested by the mistrust of the working people in such trade union organizations, by the loss of their support, but also by the loss of the trade unions' influence on the working people. This is a very serious moment. From this it is obvious what essential importance the Leninist approach has to the solution of this important issue, how necessary it is to consistently implement that approach in everyday practice.

We must concede that this continues to be one of the ROH's shortcomings, which we discussed at URO's seventh plenum session, acknowledging it and also clearly formulating some of our suggestions.

Nobody Prevents Us From Realizing Our Intentions

I will not elaborate here on the matter of the trade unions' freedom. Every one of you is capable of dealing with that matter in any discussion.

I just want to remind you of one thing: Why did the ROH emerge, or why is a trade union organization established under socialism? In order to defend the interests of the class that it organizes; in order to fight for socialism. Let us therefore ask: What and who is preventing us, who is limiting our freedom to realize these intentions of ours, these aims of ours, this program of ours? Nobody and nothing; only our own inability, only our own shortcomings.

We may therefore declare that our organization is completely free, that it develops--and can develop--its activities in the interests of the working people, in the interests of socialism. We have absolute freedom to defend those interests. As was already stated, the trade unions' freedom is legally fully safeguarded. And if somebody asks us about the trade unions' freedom under the conditions of socialism, then he is knocking on open doors which present no obstacles. But then this means that he is concerned with creating conditions for the freedom of somebody else, of some other interests than those of the workers class, of socialism. This makes it clear what concepts, what interests we have before us in such a case.

Another extremely important matter is the nature of the socialist trade unions' activities and role.

As the experience of past decades indicates, this is a real problem, on which was manifested rather strongly in various phases of the life of certain trade unions in socialist countries. In keeping with the conclusions drawn from the critical development, we proceed from the necessity to develop all four main functions of the trade unions. At the same time it is known that all the while we have been emphasizing the ROH's political role also, which is significant, particularly in connection with these discussions.

Recently, the formulation about the two-in-one role of socialist trade unions has been used--that is, their task to see to the development of the national economy, to the increase of production, and to take care of rights in the working people's interests, care of their working and living conditions. It is known very well that in our country it was stressed several times, particularly by Comrade Husak, that our trade unions have the right to participate in decisions on all that which concerns the working people's life, work and interests.

Everything One-Sided Is Harmful

One could also cite a number of examples from the Soviet Union on how the trade unions role is characterized, how it is anchored in the constitution. I would like to direct your attention to the CPSU Central Committee's slogan issued this year on the anniversay of 7 November. In connection with the trade unions, the slogan says: "Soviet trade unions! Take an active part in the management of state and social affairs, in the solution of political and economic matters, in the improvement of conditions of the working people's work and life!" Or,for instance, Comrade Brezhnev's very weighty and, for us, also suggestive speech at the recent CPSU Central Committee session formulates the following demand: "An attentive, sensitive approach to man must be the basis of the style of work used by the party and economic bodies, the soviets and, self-evidently, the trade unions. Such an attitude must become an inseparable feature of the work of every leading worker at all levels. In our Soviet way of life there cannot, and must not, be an place for bureaucracy, coldheartedness and conceit." Let us also bear in mind how the aim of the main USSR development trends for 1981-85 is characterized: "I will not start talking about these matters by quoting the problems of metals or transportation, or perhaps of fuel and energy, even though they are of enormous significance; I will start with those matters, the solution of which predetermines most directly the living conditions of the Soviet people. I believe," Comrade Brezhnev said further, "that it is exactly this that constitutes the true party approach, which places care for the people's welfare above everything else. From the strictly economic viewpoint, too, it is more correct to proceed from the final aim to what should ensure its accomplishment."

Why am I recalling all this here? Above all, exactly because it is what we are striving to achieve. And also because we have not forgotten that, in certain phases of life, deviations crop up in the operations and practices of certain socialist trade unions, deviations from this kind of Leninist understanding of the role of socialist trade unions; one-sidedness crops up in the trade unions' activities, and certain functions are neglected, which again results in very dangerous and serious consequences.

Let us show this by the example of Czechoslovakia. Our appraisal of this period is laid down in the "Conclusions From the Critical Development in the ROH." In the sixites, long before the critical years, deviation from the defense of the working people's interests and from the development of care for the working people became more and more strikingly manifested in the ROH's activities. This had to, and did, lead to unfavorable consequences. For the first and only time in the entire history of our organization, this was even manifested in the fact that there was a relative drop in the ratio between the number of members and the number of working people, but also in an absolute drop in the number of members. What did that express? [paragraph continues]

The working people's confidence in their trade union organization was decreasing. It was later manifested in the critical period when, carried by the wave of correct and justified criticism of one-sidedness, of the shortcomings, the rightwing forces succeeded in changing the character of the organization, in going over to another one-sidedness and in giving up the economic function, saying that it is not the trade unions' affair to see to the development of the economy. The seventh ongress resolution, which was later canceled by the Eighth All-Union Congress, expresses it quite unambiguously. Moreover, in the same breath the rightwing forces made demands which, self-evidently, unwound the inflation spiral and led to aggravation of the economic situation in the country. The materials of Polish comrades, Marxists and revolutionary forces in the trade unions, in the united trade unions, clearly show that they appraise the causes of their organization's failure unanimously. They also see the cause of the trade union organization's failure in the fact that it either did not fulfill the duty to develop care for the working people and to defend their rights, or conformed to the duty and submitted suggestions to the state bodies, but was satisfied with doing just that and nothing more. In certain periods such practices existed in our own country also. We proceed from the premise that it is possible to refer to this and to explain matters in this way, but that it is nevertheless impossible to shrug off responsibility for the situation developing in the way it did.

That is why the conclusion that we have reached after analyzing the causes of the critical development in the ROH--and also one from which we proceed in our present activities--is as follows: Any one-sidedness is harmful to the trade union movement; the trade unions' activities must be comprehensive; hand in hand with care for developing the economy and creating resources, they must show daily care for the working people, for their interests, their class interests, as well as for their specific, tangible interests. The working people must be able to convince themselves daily that the trade unions are taking care of them and defending their interests--that it is their organization. This will also establish the prerequisite enabling the trade unions even in complicated, difficult situations to turn to their members and to enjoy their members' confidence and support.

Functionaries Must Not Lack Selflessness and Courage

It is clear that in ensuring this Leninist concept of the trade unions' role a great deal depends on the standards and the course taken by individual trade union functionaries. It requires selflessness, courage, the ability and readiness to engage in unpleasant discussions and frequently even conflicts with the economic management. As we all know from our own practice, not everybody is prepared to do that.

We know many such instances, I again refer to Comrade Husak, who spoke to the Central Committee time and again about party and trade union functionaries succumbing to opinions held by the economic management, and about the consequences it leads to, not only in connection with the plan, but also in other connections. The fact that this is a common problem, a weighty problem, is indicated by a quotation from the CPSU document, which states: "It is unconditionally necessary to fight any deviation which manifests itself as a nasty block of certain bodies, of trade union workers and economic bodies, because the trade union bodies and their represenatives are uncritically and sweepingly approving all measures and proposals submitted by the administration of economic bodies and defending them to the workers; and because it is turning the trade unions into an appendage, into a political department of economic bodies, and leads to the trade unions' forgetting their most important function: to represent and defend the workers' economic interests."

That is equally fully valid about many positions of our plant committees and other trade union bodies on the draft plan, positions adopting the views of economic managers that are palpably contradictory to the all-social interests.

We have drawn appropriate conclusions from our experience; we must continue to draw such conclusions. It is exactly in view of all this, in view of our own experience and that of others, that we consider it our duty to fight for the party's line, for the Leninist understanding of the trade unions' role, for all-social needs; our duty to generalize and convey the opinions of basic organizations, of the working people, and to make use of their experience.

That is why our organization is striving to make its activities balanced and comprehensive; that is why we are concentrating our attention on the creation of resources, as well as on specific care for the working people. That is why we are criticizing the shortcomings in the trade unions' activity, as well as incorrect approaches of state and economic functionaries--that is how we have emphatically expressed it at our seventh plenary session. It is only thus that the ROH may pass [the test]; it is only thus that the Czechoslovak trade unions may effectively contribute to realizing the party's policy, toward building socialism, toward defending the working people's interests.

The Unity of the Workers Class Guarantees the Victory of Socialism

And finally a few words on the third matter--the problems of the trade unions' unity. What do the century-old history of the trade union and the more than 60 years of socialist trade unions show? They show that the battle for the trade unions' unity is a battle for the unity of the workers class and other working people.

Precisely the experience acquired in these class battles in Czechoslovakia, but also elsewhere, has shown that a divided workers class has no hope of success; that only a united, strong trade union organization can lead to unification of the workers class, can defend the basic, class, as well as specific and tangible interests of the working people.

That is why, after Czechoslovakia's liberation, there emerged in it--in the same way that it emerged in other socialist countries--a unified trade union movement as the expression of this experience, as an answer to it, as the expression of the working peoples' interests, as a great class achievement, as the result of the long years of struggle. Even though the communists had headed the battle for the unity of the trade union movement in Czechoslovakia and elsewhere, this opinion was held not just by communists. This is proven by the 17 June 1945 declaration of all political parties in Czechoslovakia, which says: "On the other hand the political parties have declared that they recognize the integrity and unity of the ROH and are opposed to all and any attempts at splitting that unity."

It is only because it was united that the ROH could play such a significant political, economic and social role since its establishment. It is surely sufficient to recall February 1948; nationalization, the anniversary of which we commemorated yesterday; the 2-year and the 5-year plans; industrialization; collectivization--all the substantial things that have occurred in our country and had been achieved with the ROH's active, and at times even substantial participation. But it was only because it was a united, strong trade organization. And the workers class in the capitalist countries also realizes the significance of such unity in its struggle; and that is also why even there the tendency to unite is becoming stronger. But the tendency is meeting with obstacles there, because the unity of the trade union organization is unacceptable to imperialists and monopolies; and even less acceptable if it is directed by revolutionary ideas. That is why, in all places where such danger exists, they are doing everything to break up the trade unions in order to achieve as many trade union organizations as possible; because then the organizations are split and weak, then they fight each other, and it is easily possible to manipulate them.

The enemy is waging a permanent attack against the trade union's unity, because it is an attack against the unity of the workers class. The enemy is underscoring professional and social diversity and vocational specifics; heckling workers; setting individual categories of working people against each other, the skilled against the unskilled, workers against the technicians, individual professions against each other, and so forth. [paragraph continues]

The enemy is proceeding very sharply against the principle "one plant, one organization," which is the basis of our ROH structure.

From what was said here it is obvious that the trade unions' unity must be constantly guarded, resolutely defended and consolidated as one of the guarantees of the victory of the workers class, the victory of socialism. That is why, in speaking of it, it is correct to express the opinion of our members and to declare that we will permit nobody to touch the unity of our trade union organizations. All those who would try to do that will receive an apt answer.

We are convinced that the Polish comrades will also succeed in renewing the trade unions' unity and in reviving their socialist Leninist character. We stand at their side, we exprss our solidarity with them and our full support and, self-evidently, we are also prepared to grant them inevitable assistance, should it become necessary.

We Are Not Satisfied With the Achieved Results

And finally the fourth remark, on further improving the activities of our organization. Inspired by the extremely significant Central Committee resolution of February 1972 on the trade unions, and by the "Conclusions From the Critical Development in the Trade Unions," we formulated at the Eighth All-Union Congress the basic values, the principles of trade union activities and the demands placed on individual bodies and basic organizations. Since then we have several times appraised--particularly at the Ninth All-Union Congress and at many URO plenary sessions--the way these values, principles and demands are being adhered to and implemented, and the way the role and overall activities of the ROH are developing.

Particularly at the seventh URO plenary session we took a very critical view of the role and activities of our organization. After this URO session, which found a most positive reaction throughout the ROH--as was undoubtedly confirmed here in the discussion held both yesterday and today--we developed unprecedented energetic explanatory, organizational and implementational activities in regions and districts to ensure [implementation of] adopted conclusions and expressed attitudes.

We have achieved a substantially more profound perception of the trade unions' responsibility in the awareness of the aktív of functionaries, an improvement of activity in many respects and more active work by a number of trade union bodies and functionaries. However, at the same time it again became strongly evident with what difficulties the idea that raising the standard of trade union activity is not a matter of isolated measures but a permanent, continuous process requiring untiring, persistant endeavor is gaining ground. It became evident that there is still plenty of generality, superficiality and formalism in our work and that we have certain weak spots in the setups of full-time [uvolneny] functionaries in some trade unions, regions, districts and large plants and enterprises. That has prompted us to draw the conclusion that it is necessary to constantly return to these issues. That is why in the last few weeks we have again evaluated in the Secretariat and Presidium the present state of trade union work, taking into account--among other things--those problems and experiences revealed by the present developments in the Polish People's Republic.

We arrived at the conclusion that despite the overall increase in the standard of work. In spite of the fact that we are succeeding better than ever before in developing our activities in a comprehensive and balanced manner and that considerable attention is paid to all functions. In spite of the fact that through our trade unions' care for trade union members and working people in general we are successfully implementing some far-reaching programs such as the development of selective, plant and Pioneer recreation, making more effective use of means in the fund of cultural and social needs, improving and expanding the system of enterprise social policy and reducing work accidents. [paragraph continues]

In spite of the fact that--as an increasingly important part of our care for the rights of the working people--arbitration proceedings and the granting of legal protection, which in the overwhelming majority of cases end in favor of the working people, have considerably expanded; and even though the role and influence of trade unions in society have increased, we cannot and must not be content with the results achieved.

Greater Emphasis on Perfecting Activity

Shortcomings which evoke members' justified criticism and stand in the way of fuller development of the ROH's activity, as genuinely revolutionary and genuinely socialist trade unions, still exist. That is why we decided to strive even more emphatically to perfect our activity and have worked out a complex of measures aimed at overcoming shortcomings and developing trade union work everywhere, where it is needed most. They include both short term and long term tasks, both one-time and permanent measures. To permit you to form an idea on the overall orientation of the adopted conclusions, I will acquaint you, first of all, with the headings of the individual groups of tasks:

To ensure consistent implementation of the conclusions of the seventh plenary session; to increase the role of individual trade unions, to activate and perfect their activity; to markedly raise the standard of work of URO's departments, administrations and facilities; to intensify contacts between bodies, their full-time functionaries and the employees of the apparatus on the one hand and the working people on the other; to improve conditions for members' active participation in ROH activities and working people's active participation in ROH activities and working people's active participation in management; to manifest more markedly the trade unions' care for the working people and the defense of their needs and rights; to ensure regular and effective joint deliberations among trade union, state and economic bodies at all levels of the ROH's organizational structure; to reinforce trade union bodies in terms of cadres; and to raise demands on full-time functionaries and employees of the apparatus and on their training.

A more detailed picture of the orientation of our efforts will be obtained from the characterization of the content of individual chapters.

When evaluating, for instance, the results achieved heretofore in implementing the conclusions of the seventh plenary meeting of September 1979 we are finding out again and again that many bodies and a considerable number of functionaries regard them as an isolated affair and assume that a good plan of activity for 1980 will do, that it is no longer necessary to return to the seventh plenary meeting. That is why it happens that--sometimes even at places which in the period after September 1979 responsibly discussed the tasks ensuing from the seventh plenary session, adopted quite specific resolutions and even fulfilled them--that the attention paid to the issues with which URO dealt at that time gradually subsided.

That is why we consider it necessary to see to it that trade union bodies at all levels and enterprise committees in particular systematically follow and develop all aspects of trade union activity, the organization's internal life, the fulfillment of all functions of socialist trade unions, the development of the trade unions' role in the political system, active support for party policy and relations with state and economic bodies and National Front organizations.

It has been decided, furthermore, to carry out a one-time check of the fulfillment of the trade unions' economic function. The stands of central and republic committees of the individual trade unions on the draft plans for 1981 and on the directives for the Seventh 5-Year Plan and the reaction of the ministries' leaderships, as well as the stands of enterprise committees of selected enterprises on the draft plan and the reaction of the economic management are being evaluated.

The content, quality and results of the joint deliberations of central and republic committees of individual trade unions with the management of the appropriate state bodies and the deliberations of regional trade union councils with regional national committees on the economic and social problems of individual sectors and regions are being evaluated at the same time.

In other organizations we are evaluating the approach of the enterprise committees to the semiannual control of the fulfillment of the primary organization's plan of activity and, specifically, the way in which the task to reduce the planned consumption of materials and energy by 0.3 percent is being ensured and fulfilled.

And, finally, in a different group of enterprises, in enterprises which continue to produce poor quality products, an analysis is being carried out on how the enterprise committees and the shop stewards contribute to improving such an unacceptable state of affairs, what specific tasks and goals of the struggle to raise production quality were included in the primary organization's plan of activities and in the collective treaty, how the issues are dealt with at production consultations and membership meetings of primary and workshop organizations and what results have already been achieved.

By the end of November we will also have evaluated the standard and the state of fulfillment of collective socialist pledges at the most important investment projects in the CSSR that URO specifically follows and the role of the appropriate trade union bodies and trade union councils in charge of construction.

Second, it has been decided and is being ensured through specific steps to grant assistance to individual trade unions. The chairmen of central committees of the individual trade unions were instructed to draw up a list of the major problems in their sector and to work out conclusions as to which issues will be dealt with by the trade union, which will be submitted for solution to the appropriate corresponding state body or to the URO. The problems connected with the individual trade unions' enhanced role will be discussed at a seminar of all their leading functionaries.

Third, as to the standard of work of URO departments, administrations and facilities, individual secretaries were instructed to discuss with the heads of formations the essential need to raise, without delay, the demands on individual employees and on the standard of those formations' overall activity. By the end of the year an analysis of the present structure of the URO apparatus will have been carried out and a draft concept will be drawn up concerning the character and content of activity of all formations as well as the organizational provisions for the problem of the standard of living of those employed in the URO apparatus. We have found out that there are aspects of living standards in which trade unions must take an interest, but which are not ensured in any way in the apparatus' structure and activity. [sentence as published]

To Approach the Solution of Working People's Needs More Consistently

Furthermore, concerning points four and five we consider it timely to more markedly intensify contacts of trade union bodies, all full-time functionaries and political employees of the ROH apparatus with the working people. We want them to take part regularly in membership meetings, talks, production consultations, sessions of plant and enterprise committees and of Presidiums of middle-level trade union bodies, that they actively deal with the working people's suggestions, critical comments and complaints.

We remind the chairmen of enterprise, plant and workshop committees of their obligation to continuously deal with the working people's comments, proposals and criticism and to brief higher trade union bodies on those comments and on the problems concerning the primary organizations' work.

We remind the shop stewards of the extraordinary political importance of their mission and, in particular, of the significance of their everyday personal contact with the members of their shop, of the necessity to discuss with them tasks and comments and to brief the enterprise or workshop committee on members' views and comments. We consider it correct to further reinforce the position of the shop stewards. The content of the coming issues of INFORMATOR and DUVERNIK [trade union periodicals] for chairmen of enterprise committees and shop stewards will also be oriented in that direction.

We are making sure that reports on the most frequent comments of the working people, along with proposals for their solution, are submitted on a regular basis to the URO Secretariat and Presidium.

Soon checks will be carried out on how production consultations are fulfilling their role, how comments raised by the working people at production consultations and in the workshops are registered and dealt with. We have issued an instruction on elaborating proposals to create conditions to develop the working people's active participation in management and to enhance their interest in solving the problems of their workplace.

We consider it a duty to improve the supply of information to members and the society as a whole on the activity of trade unions and on the use of the trade unions' financial means, that is on the use of the proceeds of membership fees for the members' benefit and for measures in the interest of the working people.

Sixth, we must ensure that the trade unions' care for the working people, for the defense of their needs and rights is manifested even more markedly than heretofore, on a country-wide, departmental and union scale as well as in each individual primary organization.

Apart from the aforementioned organizational provisions concerning the problem of living standards in the URO apparatus, the responsible functionaries are instructed to:

A) Follow and flexibly submit to the Secretariat and Presidium reports on new significant phenomena in the working people's living standards, in the social sphere, and in the development of work safety, and the rate of absence from work due to sickness and accident along with specific proposals to solve individual problems;

B) Actively exert influence on the solution of the most frequently criticized current problems and shortcomings in the transportation of working people to their jobs, in ensuring protective working articles, in the supplies of stores in the afternoon and so forth;

D) Work out a proposal, on the basis of experiences acquired in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, for the stipulation of obligatory norms concerning the social equipment of production, working and other facilities.

And we will also demand that the plant and enterprise committees approach with full responsibility the evaluation of results and conclusions of the annual check on labor security, the preparation of the social part of the collective contract and of the activity plan (that is, the third part), as well as control of the fulfillment of individual points and emphatically draw conclusions whenever the tasks are not being fulfilled. Above all, this problem should be included in the agenda of those plant and enterprise committees where the fulfillment of individual points of collective contracts are postponed from year to year.

Seventh, the URO and the entire ROH have been informed that, following the seventh plenum session, negotiations were held between the majority of trade unions, all-union, as well as individual union bodies on the one hand and the state and economic counterpart bodies on the other; we regard them as a good start and they are already yielding the first results.

At present an appraisal is underway of what these negotiations have yielded on the level of unions and of regional trade union councils, which should lead to an agreement on the further course and ensure the regularity and efficiency of such negotiations.

However, we consider it decisive that this method of ensuring national economic development, fulfilling planned tasks, as well as perfecting care for the working people, be applied as a lasting system in all plants and enterprises. Judging by the experience and results of repeated studies of relationships between economic executives and trade union bodies, the task is neither easy, short term nor isolated. But we must do all we can, we must show patience, persistence and determination in order to successfully cope with it.

In this connection we must again point out that we do not regard meetings between the plant committee chairman and the director, or the participation of the plant committee chairman in a director's conference as representing such negotiation. What we are concerned with are negotiations of the plant or enterprise committee with the plant or enterprise management, according to a program agreed on in advance and with absolutely concrete conclusions, of which the aktiv and the very next members' meeting will then be informed. It is all the more necessary to make such demands on the preparation and nature of deliberations on the higher levels of the organizational structure.

It has also been decided to discuss with those trade union functionaries who are deputies of the Federal Assembly and the Czech and Slovak national councils and of regional and district national committees more active implementation by them of the experience of trade union bodies and working people during the sessions of representaive bodies of which they are members.

And, finally, eighth: The trade union bodies are confronted by the serious task of again discussing with all full-time trade union functionaries up to the basic organizations and with the workers, particularly political workers of the ROH apparatus, the growing demands on the latters' activities. We have in mind both their permanent contact with lower trade union bodies, particularly basic organizations and collectives of workers, and also the higher standards of the materials processed by them, as well as greater emphasis on implementation and control activities and on the consistency, selflessness, exigency and modesty of trade union functionaries. We must make sure of deepening the ideological, political and professional preparation of the aktiv of trade union functionaries; we must make sure that they are informed and armed with the necessary data.

The Trade Unions' Engagement for the Benefit of the Development of Society

I have not mentioned by any means all the matters that have already been adopted in a quite specific form, comrades, and for which we are now gradually providing. We must return to these matters again and again, because the activities of our trade unions must be constantly improved. But further development of our organization demands that all bodies concern themselves with the level of trade union work; that all functionaries reflect on it and that they draw practical conclusions from it, according to their job, place of work and specific conditions. An example must be set by full-time leading functionaries. This is one of the most decisive demands that the present places on trade union functionaries. [paragraph continues]

We are led to this both by our own and by foreign experience; we are forced to do it by the growing demands of our times; it is required of us by the party's policy, by the Central Committee resolution on convening the 16th congress; and it is also our commitment with regard to our members and all Czechoslovak working people.

Comrades, we are concluding the 10th URO plenum session with the decision to contribute to establishing a precongress atmosphere which would manifest itself in the working collectives' militant resolve to fulfill the tasks of the 1980 plan, as well as the tasks approved by the 18th Central Committee session so that the 16th CPCZ Congress would be able to approve the program of the CSSR's further development.

And when at a similar URO plenum session preceding the 15th CPCZ Congress we declared that the URO and the entire ROH would engage themselves wherever necessary and wherever the advance of our society demanded it, then that applies yet more emphatically and unambiguously today, 5 years later, when it was stated from the most qualified places that the ROH had significantly contributed to fulfilling the socioeconomic program of the party's 15th congress.

In the past period the ROH has strengthened further; the aktiv has become more experienced, the trade union activities have become more crystallized and purposeful. We are formulating higher tasks for ourselves and we are setting ourselves more demanding aims in the awareness that the ROH has sufficient strength to fulfill them.

FOJTIK ADDRESSES IDEOLOGICAL CONFERENCE IN OSTRAVA

AU180838 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Nov 80 pp 1,2

[CTK report: "Topical Tasks of Ideological Work; Conference of Functionaries of Party, State and Social Bodies and Organizations; Speech by Comrade Jan Fojtik"]

[Text] Ostrava, 10 Nov (CTK)--A 2-day statewide conference of functionaries of the party, state and social bodies and organizations on raising the effectiveness and quality of ideological and political-educational work began in Ostrava on Monday. The deliberations are being attended by CPCZ Central Committee Secretary Jan Fojtik.

The conference, organized by the CPCZ Central Committee department of propaganda and agitation together with the North Moravian regional party committee, was opened by the head of a CPCZ Central Committee department, Vasil Bejda.

Miroslav Mamula, secretary of the CPCZ Regional Committee, spoke at the opening part of the conference. He dealt with the main tasks of the regional party organization in preparing for the 16th party congress and with the course of communists regarding the fulfillment of the tasks of the Sixth 5-Year Plan and the creation of good prerequisites for the entry into the Seventh 5-Year Plan. He noted that well-organized mass-political work, concrete and open attitudes of communists vis-a-vis the working people and their selfless work yield results in mines, metallurgy plants, agriculture and other spheres of social life.

CPCZ Central Committee Secretary Jan Fojtik spoke about topical tasks of ideological and political-educational activity. He noted that the 15th CPCZ Central Committee session stressed the need for a comprehensive approach to political-educational tasks as one of the determining prerequisites for a substantial improvement in the standard of propaganda and agitation, and raising the effectiveness of all ideological work.

Comrade Fojtik spoke about the use of our history's progressive and revolutionary traditions for the socialist education of man, especially for the young. He said that in our ancestors' glorious past we must find the pillar for a successful struggle for the construction of socialist society. We are appraising the sacrifices made in the past in the light of today.

In another part of his speech, Comrade Fojtik explained the main tasks of political-educational and mass work in the period prior to the 16th CPCZ Congress. He stressed that it is necessary to involve our propaganda and agitation and all our political-educational work as effectively as possible in the great mobilization of the forces of the party and society. [He also stressed] the need to make as big a contribution as possible to ensuring that the annual membership meetings of primary organizations, the regional and district party conferences and the congress of the CPSL fulfill their purpose both with regard to assessing the work of the party since the last congress and with regard to outlining new tasks reflecting the given stage of our society's development, strengthening party unity on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, deepening its authority among the masses and strengthening its unity with the people.

Comrade Fojtik stated that this will involve the creation of a creative, constructive and comradely atmosphere corresponding to the principles of intraparty democracy and Leninist norms of party work without the implementation of which we could hardly make use of and correctly utilize the most valuable thing the party possesses--the collective wisdom of the great army of communists and of extensive work collectives and of our citizens.

The CPCZ Central Committee secretary dealt with the preparations of the celebrations of the party's 60th anniversary and stressed that the founding of the CPCZ belongs to the most significant events of our modern history.

He recalled the 10th anniversary of the "Lessons from the Crisis Development in the Party and Society After the 13th CPCZ Congress" and characterized its topicality for the present. Involved is a document, he said, often referred to not only by us here, but also by many people in the international communist movement. As it shows, it is a really living source of inspiration for the present. He stressed that we and every country must do the maximum for the consolidation of the unity and strength of the socialist community, for the development and growth of its influence, that everything must be done so that our people will correctly comprehend all this, that they will not evaluate problems of any country nationalistically from the position of our own interests and needs alone, but from the positions of genuine internationalism.

Comrade Fojtik devoted attention to economic propaganda. He underscored that it must more effectively explain the state of our economy, evoke the interest of the working people in resolving problems and increase their participation in implementing the party's economic policy. When he spoke about the clarification of the "Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System of National Economy After 1980," he said that propaganda must more markedly show the concrete approach of economic practice to the implementation of the set of measures in production, popularize good experience, forms and methods of its implementation in practical life.

Comrade Fojtik further said that the militancy and effectiveness of propaganda depends on its orientation toward the socialist society's topical needs and prospects of its development. Experience alone is not enough to master new tasks. There also must be a broadly developed creative and innovative activity. He stressed the demand for a close linking of political-educational work to the everyday practice of party policy when resolving demanding problems connected with the construction of an advanced socialist society. He noted the necessity of a comprehensive approach to ideological activity, a matter that requires combining education in Weltanschauung with education in work and ethics. Propaganda must consistently proceed from the Marxist-Leninist theory and result in mass-political and organization work. [paragraph continues]

It must respect the unity of the political-educational activity with the management and organizational activity and their coordination by politically mature cadres to ensure a uniform influence among the working people, particularly among the youth.

In his speech, Vladimir Mi[illegible]ny, secretary of the CPCZ's North Moravian regional committee, informed the participants [illegible] the statewide conference about the experience gained from ideoeducational and mass-political work in the North Moravian region. He said that the regional party committee has been systematically devoting itself to ideological questions. The knowledge of social and economic processes has been deepened, and they are being better and more effectively influenced. He said further that lasting ideological influence is being successfully manifested not only in working initiative but also in increasing the spiritual and material values. The members of socialist labor brigades and other working people who are actively joining various movements and influencing others by their attitude when fulfilling topical tasks in the process of socialist construction and their civic consciousness are an example of that.

The deliberations will continue on Tuesday.

BRIEFS

AMBASSADOR TO LAOS--CSSR President Gustav Husak and Premier Lubomir Strougal received in Prague on 6 November Ladislav Kocsis, Czechoslovakia's newly appointed ambassador to the Lao People's Democratic Republic, in connection with his new post. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Nov 80 p 1 AU]

THAI AMBASSADOR--Jaroslav Srb, deputy chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, received on 11 November in Prague Khanit Sicharden, ambassador of the Kingdom of Thailand resident in Warsaw, in connection with the termination of his diplomatic mission. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Nov 80 p 2 AU]

PROTOCOL WITH USSR--Viktor Kozlov, Soviet deputy minister of transport action construction and the USSR Government's plenipotentiary for the construction of the Prague subway, and Otakar Ferfecky, CSR first deputy minister of development and technology and the CSSR Government's plenipotentiary for the construction of Prague subway, signed in Prague on Thursday a protocol on the further technical assistance and deliveries for the subway in 1981. The cooperation will concentrate on the construction of the third line of the Prague subway, known as "B," and on the construction of further new sections. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Nov 80 p 3 AU]

CULTURAL EXCHANGE WITH DUTCH--A mixed Czechoslovak-Dutch commission met in Prague on 4-7 November to discuss the 1981-82 program of cultural, educational and scientific exchanges between the two countries. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Nov 80 p 2 AU]

BELGIAN AMBASSADOR--Roland d'Anethan, ambassador of the Kingdom of Belgium, has left the CSSR after completing his diplomatic tour of duty. He was seen off by Josef Hroch, deputy head of diplomatic protocol at the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Nov 80 p 2 AU]

MINISTER VISITING FRG--CSSR Minister of Transportation Vladimir Blazek has started a 3-day official visit of the Free Hanseatic City of Hamburg, at the invitation of Hans-Ulrich Klose, chairman of the Hamburg Senat and city's first mayor. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Nov 80 p 7 AU]

GAUS, KOHL DISCUSS INTRA-GERMAN RELATIONS

LD181406 Hamburg DPA in German 1333 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Excerpt] East Berlin, 18 Nov (DPA)--The head of the Federal Republic's permanent mission in East Berlin, Guenter Gaus, made a talk this morning lasting about an hour with GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Michael Kohl on relations between the two German states. A spokesman for the permanent mission would not comment on the content of the talk.

NEW CURRENCY MEASURES ONLY AFFECT FRG SPECULATORS

LD181832 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1647 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Text] Bonn, 18 Nov (ADN)--A few weeks ago when the minimum exchange requirement was increased for visits to the GDR as a countermeasure to the well-known speculation with GDR currency, there was a great outcry in the mass media here. Since this did not suffice to get the federal citizens' blood boiling, the word "unsocial" was tagged onto the GDR announcement because it was the "socially weak" who were affected by it. Meanwhile, however, it has become increasingly clear that it is not the "socially weak" who "were affected."

It was the speculators, who in the FRG and West Berlin receive M5-6 for DM1, who were affected. SPD Deputy Hauck, for example, pointed out on Monday that it has been possible for a long time to deduct DM50 as a tax allowance, without the need for any special formalities, for visits from the Federal Republic to the GDR. This special expenditure need only be substantiated by a visa entry, presentation of a ticket or other similar proof. The flat-rate sum of DM50, which also applies to the "expulsion areas," in other words Poland, covers, according to the income tax law, all special expenditure connected with such a trip. Furthermore, tax relief claims of DM30 for parcels and DM20 for packages to the GDR. With this practice, the FRG knocks the bottom out of its overreaction to the GDR's measures.

AUTHORITIES RETURN TWO RUNAWAY FRG CHILDREN

AU182147 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15-16 Nov 80 p 2

[Test] Berlin (ADN)--On 14 November 12-year old Peter Kollmann and 13-year old Cornelius Eschany, both from Regensburg (FRG), were handed over to the permanent FRG representation in the GDR for transfer to the FRG. The children wanted to avoid committal to an FRG educational institution and on 18 November 1980 were apprehended on the D 408 transit train at the Gutenfuerst GDR border crossing point.

KURT HAGER DISCUSSES CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH FRG

LD181352 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2103 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] Berlin, 17 Nov (ADN)--Prof Kurt Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, spoke about ideological problems of domestic, foreign and cultural policy in preparation for the 10th SED Congress in April 1980 at a meeting with leading representatives of the artists associations and artistic and cultural institutions in Berlin today. Minister of Culture Hans-Joachim Hoffmann also attended the meeting.

Kurt Hager stressed that at the threshold of the 1980's, new conditions have arisen for the implementation of the SED's cultural policy. These conditions emanated from the degree of maturity in the development of society as a whole in the GDR and its cooperation with the USSR and other countries of the socialist community and also from the aggravated conflict between socialism and imperialism. Hager stressed that in view of the international class struggle such values as socialist patriotism, proletarian internationalism, anti-imperialist solidarity and the struggle for peace, which was part of the nature of socialism, were gaining in importance.

He said that over the past years numerous works of GDR art and literature had contributed to spreading and determining such achievements and values of socialism. The repeatedly discussed question of the function of art in socialism found here, in its irreplaceable and indispensable contribution to the development of the socialist personality and a way of life appropriate to socialism, is a convincing answer.

Kurt Hager stressed that it is part of the socialist view of the world to encompass history in its objective and actual course and in its dialectic. To this belongs also a view of the dimensions and limitations of historical personalities. This also involves dealing with contradictory phenomena of the historical and cultural heritage, including those through which--as in the history of Prussia--the struggle between progress and reaction goes right through the middle and in which progressive and reactionary features are also mixed and intertwined.

Kurt Hager stated further: "Numerous examples show that above all the ruling circles of the FRG are stepping up their anticommunist attacks against the cultural policy of the SED and the socialist culture of the GDR. These activities are inseparably linked with rightwing political developments in the FRG which were introduced as early as the mid-1970's by the reactionary-conservative forces as a 'change of trend'.

"No exception to this was made at the recent GDR film week in the FRG. Against the agreements and in contradiction to the manner in which the FRG film week was held in the GDR, the opening events were misused for a massive campaign against the GDR. At the opening of the GDR film week in Bremen, for example, the mayor of Bremen, Moritz Thape (SPD), stated that the raising of the minimum exchange requirement--a measure for currency stabilization--was directly opposed to a cultural agreement as a means of preparing the way for further possibilities of exchanging information.

"This misuse of cultural events and the cancellation of policy [not turning up at GDR cultural events after having initially accepted invitations] practiced by leading FRG politicians in connection with film week is quite obviously an expression of the general deterioration of relations with the GDR which FRG imperialism is at present striving for," Kurt Hager stressed.

"It would not be realistic to regard cultural relations with the FRG to a certain extent as being a sphere completely unaffected by the overall political situation, the more so as there is no cultural agreement between the GDR and the FRG, no agreement regulating mutual cultural exchange. It has not so far been possible to sign a cultural agreement between the GDR and the FRG because of the FRG's refusal to recognize the self-evident rights of the GDR. Nonetheless, the cultural activities of artists, writers, orchestras and other GDR ensembles have steadily increased over the past few years. But the FRG's cancellation policy cannot remain without influence on our cultural performances in the FRG."

"We cannot time and time again demonstrate our good will and improve the sparce cultural scene in the FRG only to reap slanders and attacks on our state and our socialist culture," Kurt Hager said.

He emphasized that the artists associations and the artistic and cultural institutions had conceived important plans in preparation for the 10th SED Congress. These included initiative programs, comparisons of performance, competitions and workshop days. "The most important thing, however," Kurt Hager stressed in conclusion, "are naturally new artistic performances and cultural-political activities which further enrich the lives of the working people in the spirit of the main task."

PHILOSOPHERS MEET WITH POLISH COUNTERPARTS IN BERLIN

AU182135 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15-16 Nov 80 p 10

[Text] Berlin (ND)--Consultations between representative delegations of both countries took place from 4 to 8 November in keeping with the long term accords between the Scientific Council for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy and the Committee for Philosophical Sciences of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw.

Concurrently two scientific symposiums were held jointly. The first one on the theme "The Unity of the World and the Natural Sciences," dealt in part with the relationship between dialectics and methodology. Central to the second symposium, "Facts and Values in Marxist-Leninist Ethics," were the dialectics of socialist societal practice and of socialist value concepts, the role of the Marxist-Leninist party in intellectual life and the question of the value of human life.

FISCHER, KROLIKOWSKI MEET WITH THAI OFFICIAL

LD182250 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1700 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Text] Berlin, 18 Nov (ADN)--The GDR and Thailand are interested in strengthening bilateral relations on the basis of peaceful coexistence. This was stressed by GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer and the deputy foreign minister of the Kingdom of Thailand, Dr Arun Phanuphong, on Tuesday during a meeting in Berlin. Phanuphong is visiting the GDR at the head of a government delegation from his country.

Both politicians explained their views on basic issues of international developments. They stressed in this respect their joint interest in preserving and consolidating world peace. They shared the view that it is necessary to check the arms race and achieve effective disarmament.

Dr Herbert Krolikowski, state secretary and GDR first deputy foreign minister, held consultations with Dr Phanuphong on topical international issues and on further deepening relations between the GDR and Thailand. During the Thai delegation's visit to Berlin, Deputy GDR Foreign Trade Minister Heinz Sachse and Dr Phanuphong signed the first trade agreement between the GDR and Thailand.

TRADE PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC

AU191051 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15-16 Nov 80 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--On Friday Muhammad Hizan Shuhati, minister of economy of the Yemen Arab Republic [YAR]--who paid an official visit to the GDR at the head of a delegation of his country--and Horst Soelle, GDR foreign trade minister, signed a protocol on the further development of trade relations and economic cooperation between the two countries. The two ministers expressed satisfaction with the good results obtained during the visit.

During his GDR visit, Minister Shuhati was also received by Guenther Kleiber, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and minister of construction of general machinery, agricultural machinery and vehicles; by Otfried Steger, minister for electrical engineering and electronics; and by Egon Hempel, deputy minister of construction of heavy machinery and equipment, for talks about the development of cooperation.

GDR Minister of Foreign Affairs Oskar Fischer also received Minister Shuhati for a friendly exchange of views about topical international and bilateral problems.

GRUENBERG-LED SED DELEGATION HOLDS TALKS IN LEBANON

LD182106 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1827 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Text] Beitut, 18 Nov (ADN)--The GDR will continue to give solidarity support to the Lebanese people in its struggle for national unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity. This was underlined on Tuesday by Politburo member Gerhard Grueneberg in Beirut at the start of official talks between the SED Central Committee delegation he is heading and the leaders of the Lebanese Communist Party. The Lebanese Communist Party delegation is headed by Secretary General Georges Hawi. The GDR guests arrived in Beirut the previous say at the invitation of the Lebanese Communist Party.

Grueneberg praised the Lebanese Communist Party's role in mobilizing the workers of Lebanon in the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction as well as in defense against Israeli aggression. He further reported on the state of preparations for the 10th SED Congress. Hawi drew attention to the fact that Lebanese communists are following the GDR's dynamic development in politics, economy and culture with great regard.

During the talks, the two parties' firm alliance with the CPSU was stressed. Both delegations noted agreement on all issues of international politics, in particular condemning the aggressive course of U.S. imperialism which is geared to confrontation.

SINDERMANN CHAIRS VOLKSKAMMER PRESIDIUM SESSION

LD181736 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1608 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Text] Berlin, 18 Nov (ADN)--Presidium of the Volkskammer has convened the 12th Volksammer meeting for 17 December in Berlin.

The Presidium, which was presided over by Volkskammer President Horst Sindermann, submitted the following proposal for the agenda:

Discussion of the bills on the economic and state budget plans for 1981; the bills on the consular agreement between the GDR and United States, the republics of Mali and Nicaragua; the bill on the colleges of GDR lawyers; and the bill on the management, planning and organization of animal breeding-livestock breeding law.

The bills were handed to the appropriate People's Chamber committees for discussion.

PEOPLE'S ARMY CIVILIAN EMPLOYEES TU AKTIV HOLDS MEETING

AU182143 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15-16 Nov 80 p 2

["National People's Army Trade Union Aktiv Discusses New Projects: Civilian Employees Strive for Further Optimum Performances"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--On Friday the aktiv of the trade union of civilian employees of the National People's Army [NVA] discussed the members' contribution to further strengthening the fighting strength and combat readiness of the troop units.

Together with Col Gen Heinz Kessler, deputy defense minister and chief of the NVA's Main Political Administration, the trade union officials discussed how they could, in preparation for the 10th SED Congress, promote initiatives and creative vigor of all civilian employees through political-ideological work that is linked with life and even more effectively solve tasks related to procurement and supplies. The participants reaffirmed their determination under proven SED leadership to help strengthen and protect their socialist fatherland.

Irene Buetow, deputy chairman of the Central Executive of the trade union, praised the performance of civilian employees in the training year nearing its end, whether in caring for and maintaining military technical equipment or in comprehensively ensuring training, in improving working and living conditions or in supplies to army members--the civilian employees everywhere acted according to the slogan: "The Best for the 10th Party Congress! Everything for the People's Well-Being!"

Colonel General Kessler underscored the responsibility of trade unionists in the armed forces for the reliable military protection of socialism. In the new training year, the first stage of which extends up to the 10th SED Congress, the trade union organizations, just like people in all sectors of military affairs, are confronted with comprehensive and qualitatively higher tasks. Coping with these requires a high degree of socialist awareness on the part of all civilian employees in order to fulfill all competition pledges and thus to comply even better with all the requirements of the NVA in the eighties.

CHURCH DIGNITARIES SUPPORT DETENTE POLICY

AU182155 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Nov 80 p 2

[Text] Suhl (ADN)--Some 150 leading church dignitaries, clergymen, synod members, members of church councils and representatives of religious communities of Suhl Bezirk who met at Zella-Mehlis on Thursday support the policy of the GDR and the socialist community of states aimed at peace and detente. Klaus Gysi, state secretary for church affairs, who spoke about topical problems of domestic and foreign policy, attended the meeting which was marked by mutual confidence. In doing so he pointed out the aspirations, dangerous to peace, of reactionary imperialist quarters to reverse the detente process contrary to the peoples' vital interests.

BRIEFS

NATIONAL PEOPLE'S ARMY--Secretaries of FDJ basic organizations reported on 17 November 1980 in Berlin on the strengthened combat preparedness of the GDR National People's Army and of the GDR Border Troops at a meeting in the Wilhelm Pieck Military Academy. The meeting was attended by Col Gen Heinz Kessler, deputy minister of national defense and chief of the NVA Main Political Administration. [East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1843 GMT 17 Nov 80 DW]

METALLURGICAL PRODUCTION--The metallurgical workers of the GDR have achieved a plan lead of 2 days on 16 November 1980. State Secretary Klaus Blessing said that this remarkable lead was achieved due to the hard work of steel plant and rolling mill collectives. Compared with last year, more than twice as many products received the quality mark Q. Blessing said that particular progress was achieved in the production of hard construction steel and the economization of energy. More attention will be given in future to the production of specialty steels, said Blessing. [East Berlin Domestic Service 1800 GMT 16 Nov 80 DW]

REPUBLICAN U.S. PRESIDENTS MAY BE FREER TO APPROACH USSR

LD182256 Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpt] Ever since I returned from the United States, via Madrid, I have been asked on many occasions whether it is better or worse for us that Reagan is about to take over from Carter as the president of the United States. Well, I am not a prophet myself, but I can say that the fact that Ronald Reagan used to be the ever triumphant hero of cowboy films and that he was governor of the largest American state, California, for only 4 years, is not a decisive factor. After all, what had Carter been before he became the governor of a much smaller state, Georgia, for only 4 years? Well, he has not been the hero of cowboy films but he was a peanut farmer. This was by no means a better letter of recommendation for office.

I realize that Reagan said a lot of dreadful things in the course of the election campaign. However, America has known for a long time that speeches made during the election campaign have absolutely nothing to do with the future activities of the president when he takes up office in the White House.

It is worth recalling that Carter won 4 years ago on the basis of a peace program and campaign speeches on disarmament. And what became of all that? Reagan could only win the elections by uniting behind himself the right wing conservative and the so-called liberal wing of the Republican Party. As he has only 25 percent of the electorate behind him he will also need, while in office, the support of the more liberal and more sensible forces. This is indicated by all the signs: representatives of the right and left wings of the Republican Party have taken an equal share of the appointments made so far.

Finally, let us recall a very important lesson of American history. Whenever the Democratic Party presidents of the United States attempted to hold substantive talks in a sensible way with the USSR they were immediately charged by the right wing conservative forces with being soft on communism and with betraying the interests of the country to the USSR. For this reason, since the end of World War II only conservative Republicans have managed to secure the acceptance at home of a realistic approach to the USSR. Nixon, whose entire past was made up of the most violent anticommunism, could quite safely go to Moscow and conclude the first SALT treaty because he was not attacked by the right. I may, of course, be wrong. However, it is quite possible that Reagan, who was bragging so much during the campaign, may well become a better negotiating partner than his predecessor.

GYENES, HORN ARRIVE IN VIENNA FOR SOCIALIST PARTY VISIT

LD191116 Budapest MTI in English 1026 GMT 19 Nov 80

[Text] Budapest, 19 Nov (MTI)--MTI reports from Vienna: Andras Gyenes, president of the Hungarian parliamentary foreign committee and secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee, arrived in .enna on Tuesday for a visit at the invitation of Heinz Fischer, head of the parliamentary fraction of the Austrian Socialist Party. Andras Gyenes is accompanied by Gyula Horn, deputy head of the HSWP Central Committee's foreign department.

WALESA STRESSES NEED FOR BROAD-BASED UNITY

LD181355 Paris LE FIGARO in French 17 Nov 80 pp 1, 3

[Bernard Margueritte "exclusive" interview with Solidarity leader Lech Walesa: "Pulling Through Despite Thorns"--date and place of interview not given]

[Text] Question: Are you pleased with the results of your recent meeting with Polish Premier [as published] Kania?

Answer: I am very pleased with this meeting. I like people. Every man is an individual whom you should observe and, possibly, help. The first secretary is also a human being and I look on him as a human being. As for any result politically, I can only refer you back to the communique. I would merely like to add that any assessment of it tomorrow or the day after could differ from any assessment made today. We will see. Today, it is too early to discuss this because the effects of our talks are unknown. Words are mere words. Only deeds count.

Question: Do you believe that, following the Supreme Court decision, Solidarity will henceforth be able to function normally?

Answer: Documents, even the best, cannot solve everything. Officially, formally, everything is all right here also. But this does not mean that difficulties and anxieties greater than those which we have experienced in the past could not arise. I am not saying that this will happen but you cannot be sure that this will not be the case.

Question: In fact, confrontations at a local level are still taking place. Are they mainly the result of action by middle-rank state officials?

Answer: I would find it surprising if no difficulties occurred. Everything is new and unprecedented. Anything new is bound to arouse and will arouse resistance. However, the people's preparedness is so advanced and effective that we are able to overcome any difficulties. Problems are not only a result of the apparatus' attitude. We are also responsible for them. No one has taught us how to do what we are doing now. Everything is new to us also. We do not always approach problems in the correct way. We have had neither any schooling nor any model. We are doing everything by ourselves, not always very well but this is understandable.

Question: Some of your friends reproach you for being too moderate.

Answer: Obviously there are differences of opinion among us and this is a very good thing. The hardest and the softest viewpoints must clash before any choice is made. If there were only hard-line and soft-line elements, no choice would be possible and we could do nothing. Differences of opinion are necessary. For my part, I do not know whether anyone knows what my views are. What I want to do in the situation in which I find myself is to serve as a link among various groups--by pacifying some and encouraging others in such a way that in the end we can all progress together toward a precise objective. I must rebuff no one. I cannot be placed in any category. I have simply adapted myself to the role which I have to play.

Question: Much has been said about the need to create a kind of national unity which would invlude those party members who are favorable to this concept.

Answer: Not only am I in favor of this but I furthermore believe that this is the only and sole possible chance to extricate ourselves from our present situation. We need the most broadly based unity possible. I say the most broadly based possible because we will never be able to achieve complete unity. However, we can agree on the concept of our goal even though we stick to our various views. This is precisely my objective--we should move in the same direction while holding different views.

Question: Does this mean that relations as between partners should be created between Solidarity and the authorities?

Answer: No, let everybody do what he has to do. Let us remember that we are in Poland, that we are Poles and that it is in the country's interest--a fundamental interest--that everybody should do his work without bothering about what his neighbor is doing. If this is done, everything will work out all right.

Question: Does this mean that you are optimistic about the chances of Poland emerging from this crisis?

Answer: We will certainly pull through because we can pull through. By what path? Probably through thorns. But we will pull through. Should we be optimists or pessimists? It is possible to see some positive and some negative aspects in anything. Any assessment depends on the time and the circumstances when it is made. Quite possibly, what we now see as thorns will prove to be something very fortunate or, on the other hand, our present hopes could turn against us. Great uncertainty prevails in this sphere. God moves in a mysterious way.

LE MONDE REPORTS SOLIDARITY MOVES TO CURB STRIKES

LD181209 Paris LE MONDE in French 18 Nov 80 p 4

[Bernard Guetta dispatch: "Walesa Asks Solidarity Organizations To Suspend Strikes"]

[Excerpt] Warsaw--On Saturday [15 November] [Polish Solidarity trade union leader] Walesa, who has been playing a moderating role since the beginning of October, sent a circular to the Solidarity organizations asking them to "immediately" suspend all branch negotiations now going on with the authorities and also all the strikes which may have been launched to ensure that these negotiations succeed. The Solidarity leader is trying both to curb the escalating demands to which negotiations in separate sectors are giving rise and to halt the strike movements whose number and diversity are hindering official records. The appeal which is also signed--and this adds weight to it--by Mr Gwiazda, a leading trade unionist from the Gdansk Presidium, and by Warsaw leader Bujak, describes the situation as "grave and complex" in that "the new trade union's opponents are seeking to disrupt it at any price and to produce chaos and a feeling of insecurity." This document also indicates that a proposal on the organization and objectives of wage discussions will be submitted at the movement's next national committee meeting in Szczecin on Wednesday 19 November.

At the same time the three trade union leaders wrote Premier Pinkowski to condemn "repeated cases" of negotiations being opened and then abruptly broken off immediately by the authorities and persistent attempts to obstruct Solidarity's development "by some local authorities." The "best way" for the authorities to show their "sincerity," this letter states, would be to establish discussions with delegates (mandated by the Solidarity trade union) representing the lowest paid professions which "fulfill an important social function." This proposal is clear: Solidarity wants to negotiate a national compromise with the government on the wages question based on major concessions to the people who are worst off--but limited, in the short term, to those categories.

Social justice, the struggle against inflation and restoring political calm would benefit from this but if this straw is to be seized the leadership must first succeed in closing the party ranks behind it. There was also a meeting in Warsaw on Saturday attended by the leadership, the voivodship first secretaries and numerous Central Committee officials. According to PAP its aim was to examine "the tasks facing the party before the seventh plenum." This plenum, which is due to take place before the end of the month but whose date has not yet been fixed, should, in particular, decide the date of the Polish United Workers' Party extraordinary congress.

HEALTH WORKERS END, SUGAR WORKERS CONTINUE, PROTESTS

LD181108 Szczecin Domestic Service in Polish 1540 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Excerpts] Protest action by the workers of health service, education and culture ended today in Szczecin.

After 7 days of strike students of the Pomorze medical academy returned home. Tomorrow they will start normal studies.

The protest action by the workers of sugar refineries continues. The workforces are wearing white and red armbands. The duration of this action depends on the talks in Pruszcz Gdanski.

HEALTH SERVICES UNION PROTESTS GOVERNMENT TREATMENT

LD182200 Warsaw PAP in English 2030 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Nov [PAP]--The National Council of the Health Service Union (ZZPSZ) protested today against an unequal treatment by the government of individual unions which is regarded as a departure from the principles of democracy binding in this country.

A resolution to this effect was adopted by the plenary meeting of the council held following the signature of pay rise agreements between governmental commission of the Solidarnosc Union of Health Service Employees. The keynote at the plenum was that the solution of such an important problem should not be solved without the participation of representatives of ZZPSZ. It seems that it is only, Solidarnosc that is treated seriously by the authorities, the union complained.

The council welcomed the awarded amount of money for pay raises but did not accept its proposed distribution. It also stated that the government takes no visible actions to prevent inflation and that supplies for health service centers continued to worsen. The council demands that the means destined for health service account for at least 5 percent of national income.

TRYBUNA LUDU CARRIES TEACHERS, EDUCATION MINISTER'S LETTERS

AU181715 [Editorial report] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish on 12 November on page 4 carries two 1,400-word items; one, a letter from the founding committee of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity of Education and Training, Workers in Gdansk, and the other a reply to the letter from Krzysztof Kruszewski, minister of education and training.

In their letter the Gdansk teachers point out that there are three basic problems that must be immediately solved for the good of the Polish schools: 1. Education and training's share in the national budget; 2. shortcomings caused by the constantly increasing weight of duties imposed on teachers; 3. school reform and the issue of the ideological contents of school curricula. The teachers also point out that the policy of "economizing on education" must end.

In his reply, the minister of education and training states that, indeed, the funds for education should be increased and that a suitable program should be worked out to that effect, but that such increases have to be gradual in view of the economic situation; that his ministry is working on a program to consistently lower the number of teachers' school hours to 18-20 a week; and that the ministry's workers are working hard to adapting school curricula to the new situation and to working out school programs to coincide with the proposed 5-day week. He also proposes that the trade union and his ministry should cooperate with increasing effectiveness to "work out solutions that promote national education in the best possible manner."

SOLIDARITY STEELWORKERS MEET WITH MINISTER IN NOWA HUTA

LD182152 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2030 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Text] A meeting of the leadership and aktiv of the Solidarity workers committee of steelworkers with the minister of metallurgy and representatives of specialist construction and repair associations was held in Nowa Huta. Members of the factory party committee were also present. Problems concerning the protection of the environment and proper working conditions were discussed.

MINE WORKERS' UNION ADDRESSES APPEAL TO SOLIDARITY

LD181406 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Excerpts] After 20 hours of debate, the 12th national congress of the Mine Workers' Trade Union ended its deliberations in Katowice early this morning. The delegates who attended the congress have addressed an appeal to their colleagues from Solidarity calling for caution and mutual respect for rights.

The appeal reads, in part:

We are deeply concerned about miners' problems. The experience of working class movement shows that such issues can only be defended successfully by strong and united trade unions. We are of the opinion that in the difficult political, social and economic situation of our country, there is no time for trade union quarrels and arguments about competence, which result in the eventual weakening of the representation of the workers' interests. We have expressed this in our resolution. In the name of the common mining interests, we are stretching out our hand to our colleagues from Solidarity.

Brother miners, our annual professional celebration the traditional "barburka" is approaching. In People's Poland, where miners' toil has gained particular social respect and recognition, this is a national day. May the whole mining family, irrespective of trade union allegiances, come to our celebrations. Let us invite our mothers, wives, sisters and children to our mines. Let us extend an especially warm welcome to the veterans of our toil.

[Signed] The 12th national congress of the Mine Workers' Trade Union, Katowice 17 November 1980.

GOVERNMENT, SOLIDARITY COMMISSIONS END TALKS IN CZESTOCHOWA

LD191132 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1030 GMT 19 Nov 80

[Text] A government commission led by Jozef Kepa, minister of administration, local economy and enivornmental protection, ended its talks this morning with the Coordinating Commission of the regional Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity in Czestochowa. A statement was signed which deals with demands made by the spokesman of the conference of the Coordinating Commission of the regional Founding Committee of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity in Czestochowa.

SOLIDARITY PUBLISHERS UNION PREPARING COLLECTIVE AGREEMENT

LD181104 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] The National Coordinating Commission for Publishing of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity has held a conference in Warsaw. The commission, which is an embryo organization of publication worker-members of Solidarity, is a provisional body. Its aim is to take part in preparing a collective agreement and in working out a model for the publishing industry, which is now being prepared in connection with the enterprise bill.

MINISTER REACHES AGREEMENT WITH PUBLIC EMPLOYEES TRADE UNION

LD152208 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 15 Nov 80

[Text] An agreement between the minister of local administration and environment protection [title as heard] and the main board of the trade union of state and public employees [title as heard] was concluded in the capital today. The agreement concerns implementing the demands put forward by this group of workers.

FARMING COMMISSION VIEWS OBSTACLES TO DEVELOPING FOOD SECTOR

LD172158 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 17 Nov

[Text] The National Coordinating Commission for Farming, formed at the National Coordinating Commission of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity, has held a working session in Elblag. Representatives of farming and services for this part of economy discussed the current situation. They pointed out that the basic obstacles to developing the good sector are the unequal distribution of farm production resources to individual agricultural branches, a price policy which does not encourage greater production, and the system of supplements and of managing state enterprises. The commission appointed specialist working teams which will deal with private and with socialized farming. They will develop proposals dealing with a future model of Polish farming.

'DIFFICULT SITUATION' ARISES AT SZCZECIN UNIVERSITY

LD151408 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 15 Nov 80

[Text] [No dateline received] The strike by students of the Pomorze academy in Szczecin is continuing. A very difficult situation has also arisen at Szczecin Technical University. The students of that university had a meeting yesterday with the chairman of the Interfactory Workers' Committee in Szczecin, Marian Jurczyk.

BRANCH UNIONS COORDINATING COMMISSION MEETS IN WARSAW

LD152152 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 15 Nov 80

[Text] As reported by the Coordinating Commission of the branch trade unions, a session of the commission has been held in Warsaw. Its main subject was the report of a representative of the branch movement who participates in the sessions of the commission for the draft trade union law of the Council of State. Also discussed was the attitude of the branch trade union movement concerning the main problems which should be contained in the draft law.

A decision was also made to turn to the Interfactory Founding Committee of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity with proposals for the mutual provision of such principles as the functioning of the welfare and loan funds so that they will serve the working people in the best possible manner.

'OLD' TRADE UNIONS OPPOSE 'ILLEGAL, ANTIDEMOCRATIC DECISION'

LD190435 Warsaw PAP in English 0200 GMT 19 Nov 80

["Branch Trade Unions Not To Be Ignored"--PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Nov (PAP)--The Consultative Commission of the branch ("old") trade unions presented the directions of its activities at a news conference here today. The commission is composed of chairmen of 22 branch unions of the old association of trade unions. According to recent estimates provided by the branch unions, they still affiliate at least 8 million people.

In the opinion of the commission, the government should introduce a scheme of rationing of basic foodstuffs, fuel and energy in the face of aggravating shortages in supplies. The commission also urged an improvement in the situation of pensioners, being of the opinion that the present system of pensions is unjust. It also pointed to the lack of a far-range programme of actions on the part of the government that would help overcome the current crisis. The commission also supported the idea of a 5-day 40-hour work week.

Referring to the stand of the mixed commission of Szczecin on the dissolution of union councils in enterprises where branch union organizations affiliate less than 10 percent of the crew, the council's Chairman Albin Szyszka called this decision illegal and anti-democratic. The branch unions should participate in all negotiations concerning the entirety of crews. He said the issue of ignoring the branch unions will be tackled during the question time of the next parliamentary session.

Threat of Court Action

LD191024 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0001 GMT 19 Nov 80

[Excerpt] Albin Szyszka, chairman of the Consultative Commission of the branch trade unions and chairman of Communications Workers' Trade Union, described as "illegal and antidemocratic" the attitude of the mixed commission of Szczecin on dissolving works councils at enterprises where branch trade union organizations affiliate less than 10 percent of the workforce. He said ignoring branch trade unions in negotiations on all workers' demands will be the subject of questions put to the next session of the Sejm.

If this form of intervention fails, the commission will apply to the Supreme Court. The chairman also said the branch trade unions have repeatedly expressed their readiness to cooperate with Solidarity which, in spite of this, is attempting to eliminate the branch trade unions.

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS DISCUSSES ECONOMIC REFORM, RATIONING

LD181749 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Text] As the government press spokesman has reported, there was a session of the Council of Ministers yesterday at which a draft resolution on changes in the system of managing socialized enterprises was examined. Their essence is to extend the powers of enterprises and to simplify the management system, at the same time creating conditions for extending workforce responsibility for production and management results.

The principles, being the first stage of the economic reform, will be in force toward the end of 1981, with the possibility of extending them to the next year, until the introduction of general economic reform.

The Council of Ministers examined the country's investment possibilities for next year. It was recognized that the current economic situation requires a temporary curtailment of the investment level and the transfer of investment assets to housing construction, the food economy, the health service and the socio-living sphere.

It also examined the proposal to introduce a system of ration cards for the sale of meat, meat products and fats. The Ministry of Domestic Trade and Services and the Ministry of the Food Industry and Purchases have been obliged to submit the project for social consultation. At the same time, the Ministry of Trade has been recommended to take steps to ensure the introduction of the new system of selling meat and fats from 1 January 1981.

Planning Official on Decisions

LD182138 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Zdzislawa Guca report from press conference at Polish Council of Ministers--time not specified]

[Text] Jozef Barecki, the government press spokesman, told the conference about the topics covered during yesterday's session of the Council of Ministers, which discussed three basic subjects. The first one was a draft resolution which is intended to adapt the structure of investment to the economy's investment capability in 1981.

In order to fully meet the investment commitment in such sectors as health services, housing construction and the food sector, our economy will have to be subjected to a difficult measure of cuts in investment. It is expected that cuts in investment will reach the sum of about Z100 billion. Cuts will be made in investments which cost more than 21 billion and this includes projects costing Z18 billion and Z20 billion which are not greatly advanced, which are not likely to become effective for several years, and whose final output cannot contribute to improvement in market supplies. This also includes projects which do not look hopeful because of difficulties with staff and raw materials. But all projects, and this has been stressed, are needed by our economy, and will be proceeded with as the situation permits.

The other subject discussed during yesterday's session of the Council of Ministers was temporary controls over supplies of meat, meat products and fats. The plan for carrying out this very operation which is difficult, for many reasons--is thought to be not quite ready. It has been decided therefore that the minister of domestic trade should present the plan for public consultation at the earliest opportunity. That means as early as this week, after going over it once more.

The third topic discussed at yesterday's session of the Council of Ministers was a draft resolution on changes in the system of managing nationalized enterprises to take place in 1981. A report on this subject was given to us today by Minister Zbigniew Madej, deputy chairman of the Planning Commission at the Council of Ministers:

[Begin Madej recording] The act is meant to represent the first stage in the changes of the system of management and also the first stage in the economic reform. Its provisions will apply from 1 January 1981. Stated briefly these are as follows:

The number of indicators imposed on enterprises from above can be reduced to five groups and deals with tasks as regards the volume of production of basic strategic goods which are listed by name. The list of goods varied from enterprise to enterprise.

It is proposed, secondly, to retain in the hands of central organs decisions regarding the value of output for exports to the first and second payments areas, thirdly, the market supplies of certain goods, especially those which affect market standards; and finally matters of investments. Also, as point No 5, some supplies which are linked with the country's defense.

There will be no restruction on employment. The wages fund will be formed in relation to the value of output. But in the industries which produce raw materials it will be related to the natural unit of output, such as a ton of coal, copper and so on, and in manufacturing industries it will be related mainly to the values expressed in net prices.

The control of enterprises' developmental expansion on the basis of their own resources, and above all on the basis of the development fund, will be their own business. The choice of output, or to be exact of the ranges of output, will also be the enterprises' own business, within the framework of limits mentioned before.

Enterprises are expected to plan their production while taking into account, above all, the need for maximum use to be made of those raw and other materials in short supply which will reamin on the central distribution list, and the need for producing as much as possible from those materials. The Council of Ministers also discussed the question of whether it would not be worthwhile to try instituting contracts between enterprises, or to be more exact, between the enterprises' management and their workforces. Such contracts would embrace production targets on the one hand and on the other the issue of wages and welfare matters. This question was discussed with directors of a dozen or so Warsaw factories. I have also discussed it with the Commission for Economic Reform and opinions on this subject are divided. This applies to opinions voiced by directors as well as those of experts.

Many of them said that greater psychological maturity is needed for such contracts to be effective. Others thought the present instruments for measuring production results and for dividing the results to be inadequate, because in fact those instruments would be those which are in use today. The whole reform of prices, giving new value to resources, is still ahead of us. It seems to me that the approach voiced yesterday toward the issue should be treated as a voluntary one wherever the workforce and the management think that material conditions and psychological situation favor the concluding of such contracts. [end recording]

MORE ON SOCIETY'S ECONOMIC REFORM MEMORANDUM

LD182110 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Text] We told you yesterday about the publication in ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE of a Polish Economic Society memorandum dealing with provisions for economic reform. (?What is the reform intended to achieve), ask the economists. They give the following answer:

In our conditions the equilibrium of the consumer market is the pivot of which Poland's economic recovery will turn. [passage indistinct] Poland's economic situation requires the general level of consumption to be cut considerably. To deal with the overhang of inflation in 1980-1981 we will need more than a possible cut in investments, public spending, and cuts in incomes of those earning more. It is not realistic to reduce consumption by means of an incomes policy affecting the general public. It would also be extremely difficult to reduce consumption by means of price increases.

(?It appears that to deal with the situation adequately) it would be necessary to accept the need for a temporary postponement in dealing with the most urgent needs until the economic situation fundamentally improves, that is, between 1-2 years. This should be accompanied by a different kind of argument being put forward for the great social need for reduced spending and for accepting workers' just demands.

Secondly, solving the issue of which social aims get what resources, should be achieved more easily [passage indistinct] only when all other means have been exhausted, can recourse be sought in the policy of price increases, but in the case of increases in prices for basic goods, this must be ruthlessly combined with compensations to protect lower income groups.

It is our view that it is possible to put into practice, quite early, plans now being prepared to reform the central administration. If this matter is taken up it would represent a breakthrough in the mood of the public because it would demonstrate that the progressive changes being introduced are irreversible. No doubt the Polish Economic Society memorandum will evoke a lively discussion among experts. Our listeners are also invited to take part.

'STORMY' UNITED PEASANT PARTY VOIVODSHIP CONFERENCES REPORTED

LD181524 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0550 GMT 18 Nov 80

[From the press review]

[Text] There is an extensive report in DZIENNIK LUDOWY on the voivodship conferences of the United Peasant Party. It emerges that the discussions have been stormy, full of criticism and in the main put forward justified demands. The correctness of many agricultural decisions is being questioned, particularly their practical implementation.

JABLONSKI DISCUSSES DOMESTIC SITUATION, HIGHER SCHOOLS

AU172001 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Nov 80 pp 1, 2

[PAP report on speech by State Council Chairman Henryk Jablonski at the 12 November Warsaw presentation of titles to new professors]

[Text] Addressing the new professors, H. Jablonski said: We have met here in a situation that is especially complicated and difficult and when profound anxiety has cast a shadow on the usually cheerful mood on the day when new professors are appointed. That is because the crisis our country is experiencing is far from being mastered, although we have revealed the reasons that have caused it and that we are consistently eliminating. However, eliminating the results of that crisis is neither easy nor rapid. It is all the more difficult in view of the catastrophe that has hit our farming this year and that has affected our lives.

It would be extreme folly not to be aware of that, but, on the other hand, no one who thinks of the country's future, will reduce his interest in social problems to those most wearisome daily troubles.

It is to the credit of the scientific communities that they are decisively of that frame of mind. They are also at one with the Central Committee position, expressed at the sixth PZPR plenum, that the crisis is rooted in the heavy sins committed against the basic democratic principles that have always been formally proclaimed. Those sins would be dangerous under any conditions for the development of the national economy and culture, but under the conditions of serious worldwide disturbances, they were bound to lead to a state which we now are in.

For many dozens of years everyone has known the thesis that there is no moral justification for curbing freedom, in defending the social system, under the conditions of capitalism. On the other hand, precisely such a justification, which is rooted in the idea of social justice, exists in the socialist state and, regardless of the natural lack of precision in such a brief statement of that thesis, one cannot help but assert that it has a rational nucleus. But we have to bear in mind that it exists, first, only when the aforementioned curbs are indispensable because of a really immediate danger and, second, when it is not forgotten that that thesis must in no case be turned upside down and that it must not be regarded as a source of the state's power. Otherwise the undoubted truth would be denied, namely, that the development of the socialist system by itself produces democratization of all aspects of social life and demands such democratization, and that the unceasing intensification of socialist democracy is the necessary condition for developing the material base of the system and for correctly shaping social relations and the national culture.

In the past few years we have heard a great many oral declarations that were meant as typical concessions to the necessary respect for those principles, but that was not what we needed. What we needed was the suitable practical application of those principles.

It is therefore right that a debate is going on within our entire society, a debate increasingly dominated by the issues of the future and of the shape of the reforms that are to protect us against the rise of new or rebirth of old social dangers and that at the same time guarantee development and progress. That debate has also spread to the communities of science and higher education.

I am also receiving many results of that debate in the form of resolutions, proposals and demands. My colleagues, I can assure you that I study those resolutions, proposals and demands with the greatest care. It would be a great injustice if I omitted to mention that I have received many just, well considered proposals, ones that were formulated with great attention to the text. But allow me to pay back in candor for the candor contained in the letters I receive.

The more those proposals concern the problems that are remote from our work as scientific workers and teachers, the more they are mature and profound. When they concern our own communities, the situation is more complicated. [paragraph continues]

Except for considerable differences in details, those letters are generally in accord with what concerns the state authorities' attitude toward the scientific communities or toward the working conditions in research institutes and higher schools. However, we should bear in mind that those letters analyze very feebly or not at all the internal conditions in our communities and our own work.

Is it really true that the many ailments that have affected our social life have happily omitted our own communities? Is it really true that as soon as we obtain autonomy everything will be smooth sailing and nothing will have to be improved?

It is no use discussing the subject of "autonomy or no autonomy," because there are no differences among scientists on that score, although details of autonomy call for further work. On the other hand, an important question is: How to use autonomy so that it produces the results we want? To answer that question it is necessary to have a good knowledge of what in our work should be critically appraised--in research, instruction and education.

I will limit myself to only a few of the many questions that come to mind in that connection.

Is it only the bad management of higher schools that is responsible for the sorry fact that a large number of doctor's theses, including those produced in the old and meritorious universities, do not contribute to scientific development? The central commission that reviews only samples of those theses is very critical of them.

Is it only the system of higher education that is the source of the profound underdevelopment of scientific discussions and criticism and of the simultaneous abundance of scientifically mediocre works produced to please someone?

Are we quite clear about the reasons why the age of the scientific workers who are promoted is so slow in getting lower? There is no doubt that one reason for it is the protracted procedure of promotion for professors, about which the State Council has constantly intervened with the appropriate departments. But even if we take into consideration the dates of the first applications, the situation is still not too good compared with other countries with developed education.

There are many such questions concerning every aspect of our activities.

My colleagues, why do I address you on these issues on the occasion of today's meeting? The precise reason is that, while trying within the State Council to get to know your achievements and your attitudes as scientists and educators as well as possible, we are convinced that you can use your authority, which is reinforced by promotion, for the benefit of your communities so that they can raise the standards of their work and that you are able to take the lead in utilizing their improved structures.

MEDIA, PARTY OFFICIALS COMMENT ON COUNTRY'S PROBLEMS

LD171557 Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 10 Nov 80 p 7

[Frist Schaling article: "Polish Party Members Now Fully Criticizing System"]

[Text] The PZPR may have 3 million members, but since the Gdansk agreement the communists, who have never been popular in Catholic Poland, have been totally overshadowed by Solidarity, the 7 million-strong independent Polish trade union. For many Polish communists, especially in the higher party echelons, the undermining of the party's position of power must come as a shock which sets their world picture rocking. Former party leader Wladislaw Gomulka, who was replaced by Edward Gierek after the strike in Gdansk in 1970 was put down by force, is said to have likened the Gdansk agreement to "a confession obtained under torture."

But not all Polish communists are so dismissive of the new situation. Since August the authorities have been adapting rapidly, trying to save what can be saved, among other things by infiltrating Solidarity, and have developed a completely new jargon in party propaganda based on the concept of a "social contract."

What do average party members think about the position in which the Polish party and its leadership has been put by the workers movement, of which they themselves according to Marxist-Leninist theory form the vanguard? I put these questions to Franciszek Lewicki, editor of the party newspaper TRYBUNU LUDU with special responsibility for party affairs, to Stanislaw Brodzky, prominent member of KIK, the Polish intellectuals' club, a party member since 1934 and assistant chief editor of TRYBUNA LUDU since just after the war, and finally to a younger party member, who for reasons of safety can best be left anonymous.

The most interesting thing about this latter man is that when I had a discussion with him a year or two ago about the supposed advantages of socialism over capitalism, he seemed to be a fervent advocate of the communist social order and full of confidence in the future. Now he is obviously disillusioned and pessimistic about the Polish party's chances of rebuilding itself. Despite the obvious differences of opinion between the views of these three, all Polish party members, they do at least agree on one thing--the party must speak the truth.

Franciszek Lewicki: "You cannot say that the party is split internally at the moment. It is true that there is a process of ferment in progress that could have a positive effect if certain things do not happen (probably referring to intervention from outside). This ferment has been going on even since 1978 and is a consequence of an explosion of democracy in the party at the party congress in the same year. Thus you cannot dissociate the events in Gdansk from this: the dissatisfaction among the workers is connected with the current dissatisfaction in the party--that the higher levels were alienated from the grass roots and that there was no more internal party democracy.

"The first steps to improve this have now been taken--not exactly a purge among party leaders but the replacement of people with authoritarian ideas by others who have more of an eye for democracy. The Politburo now wants to call a special party congress, perhaps in the next two weeks. But at that congress not only will people be replaced but the party will also present a broad political program that will give guarantees of the fulfilment of the population's demands.

"The situation in the party is of course far from comfortable. A time is now coming when it will have to speak about truth and will have to talk about the economic situation in particular. The authorities have probably got the general information about the economic situation. Nor is the crisis as deep as it has sometimes been described; we have a modern industry and many raw materials. What we need most is a good social approach.

"Finally production in Poland is three times lower than in the West. Workers at flour mills and in the mines for example have started working a 5-day week on their own initiative and this has led to a significant decrease in the production of flour and coal. Stabilizing the economy means greater activity and greater labor efficiency. At the moment the government is acting very tactically--it is still not complaining about poor work, but it looks as if Solidarity has now got the government with its back to the wall and is continuing to hit it.

"However, the trade union will have to realize that the workers have not only rights, but also responsibilities. There must be an end to the workers' strike mania and this is what is making the present situation so delicate--the party has the difficult task of reminding the workers of their duties."

Stanislaw Brodzki: "What is happening in Poland is a game with a large number of unknown factors and violent disintegration cannot be totally excluded. [paragraph continues]

Whether things go that far is dependent on a number of questions the answers to which are uncertain:

"Where does the limit to the Soviet Union's tolerance lie?

"How mature is Polish society?

"What is the situation in the economy?

"What is the situation within the party, where the process of crystallizing positions of power is far from finished?

"The Polish party was in fact not a party at all. It was more a sort of trade union for the privileged. The birth of Solidarity is the party's salvation because it offers the opportunity for a regeneration. You could liken Solidarity to a pacemaker--the party is a poorly functioning heart and Solidarity can give the stimuli the moment the heart fails.

"Kania is not a bad man, but he has no power base. What we now have sitting atop the party is really a negative selection of party members. There are no progressives, the leadership does not consist of the best men and Kania was the least controversial. The fact that a man like Moczar--the partisan general who in 1969 carried out a purge of Jewish leaders in the party--rose to the top must be explained by the fact that Kania has sought support from all directions. But it will only be an imaginary come-back for Moczar, unless 'the East' should want to put him in power at a given moment.

"The price of intervention in Poland is really very high for the Soviet Union and they know it well--they are not stupid. We must not let ourselves fall into the mistakes that were made in Czechoslovakia during the Dubcek era, namely that the abolition of censorship let loose a stream of criticism of Moscow. Thus we in Poland must observe complete silence with regard to the other socialist countries.

"The criticism that you could make of Kania is that he is motionless, that he does nothing to solve present problems, that the party is only producing long-term plans. We need a swift reform of all economic structures. Hundreds of laws and regulations that are now hampering the economic process must be abolished. A whole series of market principles must be introduced because a large part of production in Poland--through farmers and craftsmen--is derived from private enterprise. Agriculture must be subsidized out of profits made in industry. It is of course too ludicrous when the farmers have to pay twice as much for agricultural machinery while the price for the meat they produce has only been raised by 4 percent.

"In the construction industry, for instance, the capacity now being used to build large prestigious government buildings must be used for housing. It is also a lie that the fall in productivity is a result of the strikes. The fall is primarily a result of mismanagement in the country--the lack of raw materials because of which factories sometimes can only work a couple of hours a day."

The anonymous party member: "It is not only a question of low productivity, there is a lack of good management in Poland above all. In the past all investment was in machines that produce other machines, without the question being asked whether the final product was necessary or saleable. This led to enormous waste and the workers no longer felt that they were doing useful work.

"Complete chaos reigns at the planning bureau--planned figures are always systematically falsified, initially at factory level, and now no one really knows what is possible and on what to base target figures for the future.

"The regime--the party and the government--is completely disoriented. The only thing it is doing is waiting and I fear that this will go on. The changes in personnel have not gone nearly far enough--there are still far too many Gierek men in high positions. No changes are to be expected from them. There is practically no one who needs to give an account for the mistakes that have been made. The commission of control says that there are actions against 700 people for corruption and other unlawful practices.

But why is this only coming to light now and what have they been doing in the intervening period? So far long prison sentences have been imposed only on petty criminals or on people who have sold things to private individuals that they should have sold to the state. But the farmers are fed up with having to supply their produce to the state, which only maintains an enormous bureaucracy.

"In the highest positions in party and government there are still the same people who know nothing of what the Polish man in the street has to put up with in his daily life--long lines, not only outside food stores, but even for example outside candy stores where empty shelves stare you in the face. Those with high incomes have always had the biggest wage increases, and now that the low income groups must have a wage increase they are just printing money. This solves nothing, it just exacerbates the problems.

"The greatest problem with the Polish party is that the average party member has no chance to make his voice heard. Why do they not man the Politburo with representatives from the Central Committee, including farmers and workers? It is only filled with apparatchiks now. I am pessimistic about the future--things will get a lot more difficult in Poland than they are now."

TRYBUNA LUDU ON ANTISOCIALIST GROUPS' TACTICS

AU182021 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Nov 80 pp 6, 7

[Ignacy Krasicki article: "Where Are They Going, What Do They Want?"]

[Text] The Social Self-Defense Committee--the Workers Defense Committee (KSS-KOR) was set up in 1976, following the familiar events in Radom. However, the committee's birth should be set back 1 year when a group of refugees, emigres and dissidents from various socialist countries in Geneva decided to resort to new forms of struggle against real socialism, mainly from the inside, within the framework of "democratic opposition." The cadre backbone and some of the ideological concepts of such opposition had crystallized even earlier, at least insofar as Polish affairs are concerned.

In March 1968 the noisy antisocialist groups wanted to "attach" themselves to university students and to turn them against socialism by exploiting the errors of the party and the people's power. When those elements were compromised and when they lost their natural social base, some of them, in the period preceding the organization of the KOR, tried to draw their own typical conclusions from their defeat.

As the KOR's "ideological principles" and other dissident statements from the mid-seventies stressed, primary attention was devoted to the fact that Poland's socioeconomic system cannot be overthrown as a result of a single counterrevolutionary upheaval. When the KSS-KOR was being organized, its founders resorted often and rather willingly to extreme leftist concepts to win power. They noted that actually the champions of the antisocialist tendencies would be able to take over power in Poland only by force.

Realizing that their organization's cadres were small and its social base minute, the organizers of the KOR pursued, from the very beginning, the tenet that the KOR should infiltrate various more extensive communities. Seeing that the university community had its limitations and that it dominated the 1968 activities of the antisocialist elements and taking into account Poland's situation created by the 1976 events, the KOR founders, from the very beginning, gave priority to worker communities and tried increasingly to win various groups of workers, which was their long-term goal.

Analyzing the reasons for the failures of antisocialist activities in the past--these activities exploited various deformations of the party's policy and the masses' tottering faith in the power apparatus--the KOR founders concluded in the initial phase of their organization that the future belonged to the sweeping "autonomic" social structures that were in opposition to the party and the power apparatus. One Maciarewicz wrote about that subject in the student periodical GLOS on 20 August 1980:

"The creation of the free trade unions will snatch a crucial sphere of social life from the control of the power apparatus. Conditions will be created to make possible the organization and activities of other associations--the intelligentsia, peasant and student organizations as well as purely political groups."

What is important in this quotation is the intention. The dissidents from the so-called democratic opposition regard the new trade unions from the viewpoint of their own aims and interests. That means that they regard them as instruments. For example, large masses of the members of those trade unions want to ban bureaucracy from trade unionism, to make it a tool of worker control over the government's social and wage policy and to effectively share responsibility for production results. All that is of interest for the antisocialist groups only insofar as it gives them a pretext to promote their own political activity. This is because antisocialist groups see the new trade unions primarily as nuclei of such independent (from the party) social structures as these groups could penetrate and infect by their own ideopolitical precepts.

It is therefore natural that the KOR extremists on any suitable occasion try to directly or indirectly undermine the principle by which our party plays a leading role in our socio-economic and public life. Of course, the KSS-KOR and other antisocialist groups are and will be against that principle because it is the antithesis of their programmatic intentions. For example, if the KOR proclaims the postulate of the supposed "apolitical" nature of all social organizations in Poland, this is only because it wants to detach them from the party's policy in order to put them under the influence of its own opposition policy.

We have said that during the period of the KOR's organization some of its leaders did not refrain from lauding violent methods. On the other hand, in 1980 the KSS-KOR has gone over to the tactic of the adherents of the concept of gradually, "peacefully" liquidating the achievements of socialism in Poland and of creating a scenario for a few stages of "creeping counterrevolution." We should note that clearcut statements on this subject are rather few and the degree of their sobriety varies. They show unequivocally that the KSS-KOR is afraid of showing its face to Polish society too soon--a face of an irreconcilable adversary of socialism in Poland and a determined representative of the anti-Soviet trend.

It is easy to guess what dictates such a relatively cautious KSS-KOR tactic. On the one hand, it is afraid that its destructive intentions toward the system of social justice and its principles would be unmasked, especially in the worker communities. On the other hand, the KOR is well aware of the place that People's Poland occupies in the socialist community.

The KOR counts on a more or less distant day when the new structures of various social organizations would help liquidate Poland's socialist socioeconomic system. The gradual elimination of the PZPR from public, social and economic life is supposed to be the main instrument of the KOR's pressure and activity.

That hope for a new stage of openly antisocialist and counterrevolutionary activity by the so-called democratic opposition puts the KSS-KOR in line with the efforts of all those anticommunists who, like the evolutionists from the Paris KULTURA or the subversionists from Radio Free Europe risk the most vital interests of the people and Poland. Although, as we have written, the dissidents--afraid that the workers class, to which they want so eagerly to attach themselves, may see through their designs--put on various masks, their views mentioned above are sufficiently eloquent. In the opposition publication DROGA, the first issue of 1979, they even conceded that the social ownership of production means is a thorn in their side. We quote from DROGA:

"Not only the management system, but also ownership relations must change." Further, that dissident publication asserts that only restoring an all-out competitive struggle--that is, of the capitalist free play of forces (in the economy as well)--will be able to rescue our country from its plight. When will that happen? Precisely in the next phase, after an antisocialist offensive that will completely overthrow socialism in Poland has been launched from the previously launched position.

We write and we say the KSS-KOR, but of course we also have in mind other antisocialist groups. L. Moczulski and his "Confederation" (KPN) differ from the KDR mainly in that it is more candid and open in professing the programmatic slogans for liquidating socialism in Poland and for abandoning the alliance with the Soviet Union. However, the "Confederation" advocates a many-staged process of washing away and liquidating socialism in Poland. It was precisely L. Moczulski who in his article "The Strike Struggle in Poland" wrote recently:

"A gradual, many-staged and creeping revolution is the best solution...." Of course, by revolution he means counterrevolution.

As you see, the pressure exerted now on some echelons of the new trade unions is just a segment of the campaign waged by the KSS-KOR and other antisocialist opposition groups for such a nature of the present stage of the country's development that would make it possible for them to take root in the new structures of the Polish model. The aim is obvious: to build at the present stage a bridgehead for a future open showdown with our system, a showdown marked by the demands for "pure democracy" and a "parliamentary republic."

He who really wants--that is, with full awareness--to bear responsibility together with other citizens for the country's present and future fate should have a good knowledge of all that. On the other hand, when organizing the new trade union movement, which can play such a crucial role in improving our socioeconomic system, one should bear in mind where representatives of "democratic" opposition want to go and what they really want.

MINISTER OF CULTURE DISCUSSES SOCIETY, CULTURAL PROBLEMS

AU181851 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 12 Nov 80 p 3

[Article by Minister of Culture and Art Jozef Tejchma: "Society and Culture Today"--based on the speech made at the 3 November 1980 meeting of the basic party organization of the Warsaw section of the Union of Polish Writers]

[Excerpts] The Polish situation continues to be dangerous. To be aware of this does not mean anyone must be frightened or to fatalistically justify doing nothing. It is necessary to be aware of it in order to trigger a maximum of the party's and the people's political energy in order to resolve the crisis. Poland is so important for the socialist community and for European life and so great and so potentially rich in natural resources and moral-intellectual strength that it cannot afford to remain for long in a state of weakness and destabilization as a state.

In the situation that has arisen it is necessary to see both opportunities and threats. He who euphorically sees only opportunities may waste them and he who in his fears is aware only of threats may increase them. From the shock we are experiencing and from the events that are taking place in rapid succession we must glean as many positive and constructive elements as possible so that we can erect a barrier to dangers. Certainly the need of the moment is for efforts to lower the significance of emotion and to greatly increase the significance of reason. Discussions about everything must not be turned into attacks by everybody against anybody. Such a course leads to a blind alley.

I take the view that we should promote our thinking and actions in accord with the following formula: Which leading force and what social forces, with which it is allied against other forces, is able to provide a real opportunity not only for leaving the crisis behind, but also for promoting later on such a development of Poland and its economy, science and culture that will not waste or block any constructive social energy under false concepts of government?

Which leading force? The answer: The PZPR. That is not an issue of my party's clinging to power as some people sometimes claim. It is a question of the main structure of socialism's political system, as is the case with the structure of other political systems. Regardless of how psychologically difficult it is to repeat that principle of socialism under conditions of crisis, there is only one alternative: a modified and socially more effective role of the PZPR in implementing the power of our system, which opens the path to reforms within socialism. Such a path has not actually been opened because it has never been fully blocked. What has appeared is that it has been made broader by the new critical and reformatory ideas within the PZPR.

What alliances, what agreements and what dialogues? We have to maintain and strengthen the tripartite system that, under the Polish conditions, has been a continuation of historical class political alliances, especially the worker-peasant alliance.

Continuing the thinking of the forces we are linked with through concern for a favorable solution of our affairs, I will list--on a different platform and without attaching any importance to the place in the list--the church as a historical and vital force in our life now.

I think that I will find understanding for the idea that it was with great difficulty that tendencies toward making contacts developed on both sides, that a dialogue was initiated and that foundations for coexistence and cooperation were laid. The lay Catholic and Christian groups are playing a constructive role in building such a situation, which is good for Poland. As there is no other Poland than socialist Poland, it is good for certain ideas that on this earth can be recognized as common.

But when we speak of building alliances and promoting agreements the question is: Against whom? Social life is rife with political struggle. Against whom? Against the forces that cultivate the world of yesterday, one that will never return, and that think that the present changes are a deviation from the principle of socialism, whereas the preservation of this principle calls for changes in implementation.

The other position is occupied by the antisocialist forces--antisocialist through their own programmatic definition--which are able to exert influence under conditions of social discontent, economic difficulties, a crisis of trust and difficulties in rebuilding the authority of power. He who proclaims and practices total destruction and general dismantling of whatever has been created in 35 years and he who wants to destroy all institutions and to erase from the consciousness of young people whatever has imprinted itself on that consciousness during People's Poland, he is in no way different from certain overeager mentors of my youth who were telling everyone that whatever was good had come into being only since the war. These are antisocialist forces and perhaps--in more general terms--the uncontrolled forces of destruction and anarchy.

The evaluation of our present cultural life requires a differentiated approach. The great expansion of institutions and structures of democratic culture has been accompanied by regression in movie development, for example, although the significance of the art of motion pictures has increased enormously.

No one questions the blossoming of many spheres of culture such as music, theater and visual arts. However, Polish literary life was greatly complicated at the same time, as attested to by the hindered presence or by the complete absence of many literary creations because primitive political-personal and not artistic-ideological criteria had been applied with regard to publishing and propagating contemporary literature. There were names that were, in advance, good or bad, without any attempt to carefully evaluate the content of the works the names represented. The elimination of such wrongs requires that censorship be reformed so that it regards a literary work as a main statement of a given writer without taking into consideration his incidental political statements that conflict with other statements. It will not be easy in practice, but will be possible, given the commonsense of the authorities and the literary community.

The unparalleled crisis of book production is related to the above issues. This crisis was not merely the result of economic difficulties. It was a result of the technocratic vision of our society that wanted to trap culture within a color TV screen presenting a lot of entertainment and an occasional theater play. Let me add that, fortunately, our TV programs were excellent in their artistic standards and that they really enriched our lives. But if we had only TV at our disposal then it would be the be-all and the end-all of our culture in a deeper sense of the world.

How do the party and the state wish to understand the functions of culture? It is necessary to list the material and spiritual goals of the socialist understanding of social development. The material goal is an adequate or optimal standard of living, beyond which there begins unnecessary luxury, which has also marginally asserted itself in our country in the form of perversions while many sections of society had to struggle to make ends meet. On the other hand, there should be no restrictions on and barriers against cultural life and participation in it. This is our ultimate goal.

Culture must develop its own responsibility for its position in the people's life. It will be able to effectively do this if it becomes an ally of politics, a great ally of the people's consolidation around the aims resulting from the spirit of our times, from the conditions of our life and from the needs of new generations. Constant efforts to search for and to implement the optimal alternative for realizing the universal ideas of socialism are such an integrating aim of culture in the people's life. All other propositions are merely efforts to search, not for better constitutional principles, but for other ways of manipulating our society and other methods of government. Efforts to create the awareness that we have firm opportunities as a country that achieved a great historical settlement with the Soviet Union in the spirit of neighborliness, including the guaranteed return to the western territories, is also such an integrating aim of culture. That is why creating, by means of culture and in common with the efforts of politicians, the firm foundations of the awareness that Poland's partnerlike alliances are permanent, is a historic aim.

It is true that in the seventies a phenomenon occurred that we can define as degeneration of the motivations of people's activities in favor of material factors. At the same time, moral and ethical factors were forgotten. Certain elements of the awareness that is bribed and not convinced came into being. Culture will not be able to replace politics in removing the existing evil but without cultural activities politics will not be quite effective and thorough in its achievements. I am not afraid to use the simplest words. We must use every means to eliminate hatred, envy and will to dominate others from people and groups of people. Those are urgent issues. Of course, there are also great, future problems of creating humanist relationships in our society.

If up to now I have used the term integration in the sphere of cultural aims, I do not propose any unification in the sphere of motivation. We should proceed from the assumption that a dialogue has come into being between two universal humanisms: socialist and Christian. Both have a great philosophical and historical base. In Poland, we also have rich traditions of other philosophical movements represented by outstanding individuals in the sphere of science and culture.

As a Marxist I am for clearly defining the philosophic-motivational differences of humanisms and for searching for the values that are common in creating people's political unity and in developing a new society. It is common knowledge that it is, among other things, under the influence of Catholic thought that Marxism now pays greater attention to the issue of individual life and to looking for elements of immortality in it. Conversely, under the influence of Marxism, Catholicism shows a greater understanding for the problems of large social groups. Borderlines and differences have not been erased, but searchings have been enriched. We can hope that this plurality of Polish culture will increase the forces engaged in the construction of socialist society, in which great humanist value will thrive. For the sake of a simple example let me add that certain issues should be treated with commonsense: He who steals public property--whether an atheist or a believer--is just a thief and is not a better person for the one side and worse person for the other side.

There are too many ethical principles and interests that are so obviously common that the room for cooperation for everyone, regardless of philosophical differences, is enormous. Everywhere everything is interdependent: social life, politics and culture, even though the latter has its specific autonomy, which will be respected in terms of correct relations in partnerlike cooperation between the apparatus of power and the creative communities. Much is being said about the correct understanding of creative and artistic statements and expressions.

I would like to conclude by remarking that it is also necessary to understand the politicians' role in the people's life. Difficult times have arrived for us politicians, because we have to account for the state of public affairs and convincingly plan for the future. However, something else of more general and long-term import has to be said. For a long time politics in Poland has been a suspect sphere, seen as an exercise of dirty activities and as a pursuit of undeserved careers. Such views were supported by the facts and events before and after the war. The apparatus of power must do everything to remove the reasons for such views. However, if the public maintains that inexorable suspicion towards politicians by the force of inertia, a psychological source will be created for recruiting the worst possible people for political activities. We must break up that vicious circle.

LECTURE MARKS LEGALIZATION OF 'FLYING UNIVERSITY'

LD18005 Rotterdom NRC HANDELBLAD in Dutch 8 Nov 80 p 4

[Frits Schaling dispatch: "'Flying University' Is Now Legal"]

[Text] Warsaw, 8 November--In Warsaw University's "auditorium maximum", its largest lecture hall, the first officially approved lecture was held in the presence of a large audience yesterday evening by one of the regular contributors to the so-called "Flying University." This means that the legalization of this venture, started originally by dissidents, has become a fact.

A year or two ago the practice developed in Poland that lecturers and other academics who had either fallen into disgrace and were not allowed to publish or who were only allowed to promulgate ideas sanctioned by the authorities in their lectures, gave uncensored evening lectures to audiences in private houses. The Polish authorities continued to harass the participants in these domestic lectures given by the "Flying University" and sometimes even made their meetings impossible through their physical presence, to such an extent that the "Academic Courses Society" being organized decided earlier this year to discontinue the lectures.

A good 700 people--mostly students but also a striking number of older people--attended the first meeting of the "Flying University" on state territory yesterday evening and they showed their approval through laughter and applause of the analysis of recent Polish history given by social historian Professor Jedlicki. The assembly was not unlike similar meetings within the framework of studies at Dutch universities, apart from the look of triumphant satisfaction on the faces of those present.

Without naming the Soviet Union--there seems to be a total taboo at the moment on making reference to the deeper causes of the Polish community party's dictatorship--Jedlicki reminded his audience that after the war there was a pluralist society in Poland protected by political pluralism.

But after that a tendency toward "the destruction of all forms of independent activity" developed.

The trade unions were made subordinate to the state and all sorts of other student and youth organizations and publications had to acquiesce to the socialist concept that the state was in possession of all power. All this "to the accompaniment of the waving of flags and the shouting of slogans."

The people who in this way "broke the backbone of society" were not necessarily evil, but every attempt at independence was viewed with the greatest suspicion. After the short outburst of animation in 1955-56--the era of destalinization in the Soviet Union--Poland sank back into "deep apathy" and into passivity.

The 1968 student unrest led, according to Jedlicki, to the reemergence of the "totalitarian betrayal" within the authorities. Poland's intellectuals were powerless against it.

Then Jedlicki described to the accompaniment of great laughter the Gierek administration as a "paternalistic regime of a sort of king, who goes around in his country smiling at everyone and happily praising himself for its progress."

But the fear of losing control had led to the "cancerous growth of censorship" which sifted out all information coming from outside.

According to Jedlicki the Polish authorities deceived themselves more than the nation with the degenerate information system. The 1976 rebellion--the food strikes in Radom and at the Ursus factory in Warsaw--still did not open the government's eyes. The activists in this movement were described as living on the edge of a generally contented society.

Only the church remained as the only organization which could not be incorporated into the party structure, nor could it be destroyed. This gave rise, according to Jedlicki, to the church's becoming a spokesman for questions that were no longer exclusively religious. Through the self-restraint that the workers movement showed in August it became possible for an agreement to be reached between the authorities and the nation, which now has one voice.

These agreements, Jedlicki said, are not ideal, but they mark an "end to patronization." An "exotic model of joint government" has emerged and the question is whether this can survive for long. Poland will have to wait and see whether the government, which has now lost its power, will wait until its opponents are tired and start limiting their demands. According to Jedlicki the events of recent months have shown that the Polish system can only undergo changes through crisis, but it would be better to find a "more peaceful and cheaper" means of bringing about these changes.

The government must now try to become nationally accepted through a permanent accord with society. "We must limit the margin of conflict in order to benefit mutual well-being and introduce the principle of 'fair play' in public life. We must get away from 'the decay of language,' from the words of dogma, from words without meaning or with several meanings, from the execrable, petrified artificial jargon that is only understood by party functionaries."

Jedlicki also gave a warning about the strikes which the independent Polish trade union movement Solidarity has announced for 12 November if there are no concessions to its demand that the reference to the communist party's leading role in society disappear from its statues.

The fact that the situation in Poland will remain fairly tense in the immediate future was also stressed yesterday afternoon by Stefan Bratkowski, the new chairman of the Polish Journalists Union. Bratkoswki, a Liberal Party member, was pushed aside a few years ago for criticism of the leadership.

In connection with his appointment, which is seen as a victory over the conservatism that has prevailed in the Polish media up to the present, Bratkowski said at a press conference that the Polish journalists intend to act "on a socialist base." But, he warned, we cannot change Polish society in a week.

Asked whether Poles should be allowed to write as freely as the United States, Bratkowski answered that a Polish journalist is in no hurry to get something past the censor which could be damaging to Poland's security. But we want, he stressed, to have limitations on censorship introduced. Appeals against decisions made by the censor must be made possible.

Bratkowski finally said that he is "cautiously optimistic" about the future. Cautious because it will not be easy to solve the problems; optimistic because "we are condemned to optimism."

BYDGOSZCZ NATIONAL UNITY FRONT MEETING HELD 14 NOVEMBER

LD171138 Bydgoszcz Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 14 Nov 80

[Excerpts] A plenum of the voivodship committee of the National Unity Front was held today in Bydgoszcz. It discussed the tasks of the committee of the National Unity Front in the present socioeconomic situation in the country and in the voivodship.

It was stated in a report by Marian Szabel, chairman of the voivodship committee Presidium of the National Unity Front in Bydgoszcz, that the committees must be centers initiating cooperation among all public organizations.

The plenum admitted into the composition of the members of the Presidium the first secretary of the voivodship party committee in Bydgoszcz, Henryk Bednarski; the chairman of the Christian social society in Bydgoszcz, Jan Blachnio; and member of the urban parish committee of the National Unity Front in Janikowo, Franciszek Pedniak.

CZESTOCHOWA, NOWY SACZ COMMITTEES HOLD MEETINGS

LD181158 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Excerpt] Voivodship party committees held plenary sessions yesterday in Czestochowa and Nowy Sacz.

At the plenum in Nowy Sacz, attended by Roman Ney, decisions were taken connected with preparations for the extraordinary party congress, recognizing as essential the speeding up of those preparations.

During the deliberations in Czestochowa the urgent need was stressed of restoring assertiveness [ofensywnosc] in party ranks. It was stated that it is in the party's interest and that of the whole of society to create a climate for the activity of the branch trade unions being reborn and [word indistinct] Solidarity.

WRITER BRATKOWSKI SEES LITTLE LIKELIHOOD OF USSR INTERVENTION

LD181415 Paris LE FIGARO in French 14 Nov 80 p 4

[Bernard Margueritte interview with Polish writer and sociologist Stefan Bratkoswki: "The USSR Has Enough To Do With Its Own Problems"--date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] Question: To what should the process of reform relate?

Answer: There is a vast series of problems. The first is the problem of democratization within the party. The grass roots members must feel jointly responsible for the future of the party and the country. Almost 2 million party members (two-thirds) are now Solidarity members. I think that the ties between workers who are party members and workers who are Solidarity members--and the fact that many are members of both--has enourmous importance for the country's present and future political image.

Question: What in your view are the main obstacles on the path to democratization?

Answer: The main difficulty is that the government apparatus has still not adapted in the least to the new situation. It was not mentally prepared for the inevitable changes. In addition its mentality stems from a foreign cultural system and that makes it commit serious psychological mistakes in its attitude toward its own fellow citizens. Furthermore--and this is very important--there are social groups and even whole strata in our country which definitely stand to gain from preventing any change: I am referring to the 200,000 representatives of the economic bureaucracy between the central decision-making level and the enterprises. They will do everything in their power to safeguard their privileges. The economic situation will also create tensions because there will again be serious food supply problems over the next few months. However, I think the Poles are prepared to put up with that.

Reestablishing the Tradition of Polish Socialism.

There is also a very serious danger within the party. There are many people in the party who do not want to accept the revival. There are people who think that this process can be stopped and reversed. However the party overcame a much deeper crisis in 1956, after the Stalinist collapse. The advocates of revival will win again today and the situation within the party will be stabilized. Do the extremists on the side, in the democratic opposition, pose a threat? I do not think so. They are only a tiny minority, without importance and without influence. Last week's events demonstrate that.

Questions: Do you not think that democratization and socialization are incompatible? Will democratic socialism still be socialism?

Answer: Many people regarded socialism as irreversible back in 1956. The facts proved them wrong. They are again proving them wrong today. We want to reestablish the tradition of Polish socialism which was not born with People's Poland but is almost 140 years old. However, in speaking of socialism, we do not have any aspiration to export anything to our neighbors. They will only have reason to worry if they feel that what is happening here is a threat to them. However, not only the party but the church and the new trade unions are already capable of assuring them that they face no threat. Moreover our neighbors have already accepted many characteristics which are peculiar to Polish socialism. Our agriculture, which is largely private, is different from theirs. The role which the church plays in our country is unheard of in their countries. Therefore I think they can accept these few additional steps which scarcely go any further than the reforms which have already been carried out in Hungary.

Question: So you do not believe there is a danger of a Soviet intervention?

Answer: The Soviets stand to gain from the goverment's stablilization in Poland. They know that it is impossible to govern in our country unless the government is accepted by the population. If there were an alternative--which I do not believe there is--consisting of installing a government of occupation here in Poland, everybody knows what it would mean: In the last war we did not have a resistance, we had a clandestine Poland--an entire clandestine state. Ours is not a country in which the present problems can be solved by using force and coercion. The Soviets are well aware of that. Their analytical ability must not be underestimated. They know Poland well. Therefore, I do not think there is any reason to take the risk of a Soviet intervention seriously especially since to do so merely creates pointless nervousness and increases instability. Moreover with our economy in its present state and with our overseas debt, intervening here would amount to assuming that burden. However the Soviet Union has enough to do with its own economic problems.

PAP REVIEWS WESTERN MEDIA TREATMENT OF DOMESTIC SITUATION

LD191018 Warsaw PAP in English 0200 GMT 19 Nov 80

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Nov (PAP)--The unfolding events in Poland continue to be a major topic for foreign mass media.

Newspapers abroad wrote about the importance of the meeting between Stanislaw Kania and Lech Walesa. Dailies in Switzerland stressed that the meeting proved beyond doubt that there exists a platform for partnerly cooperation aimed at a renewal of social [words indistinct] Poland and that the population is co-responsible for bringing the situation back to normal.

"The party and the new trade unions have stopped being on opposite sides of a conflict and have become partners in the job of putting life in Poland back to normal," said TAGES ANZEIGER. Like almost all Swiss newspapers, TAGES ANZEIGER hopes that the solution of Poland's domestic problems will markedly influence the development of detente processes round the world.

A large amount of the material printed on Poland in foreign press concerns the economic situation. Britain's NEW STATESMAN printed an analysis of Poland's chances for improving her situation, given by Professor Mario Nuti of Birmingham University.

Professor Nuti maintains that the Polish crisis is the result of an unrealistic striving to raise accumulation and the mass-scale introduction of foreign equipment and technology into industry, going far beyond the possibilities of Poland's economic system.

However, Professor Nuti stressed that the medium-term prospects for Polish economy are good. He pointed to Poland's positive energy situation and her stable trade conditions. In this context, Professor Nuti pointed out that giving Poland credits and trade with Poland are advantageous for the West, as they guarantee profit for enterprises and employment for workers. The British Professor concluded that Poland could develop an attractive model of socialist economy.

International banking societies operating in Switzerland confirmed Tuesday that the recently-noted unrest--even panic--on stock markets around the world has decreased considerably. The banks say this is the result of an easing of political tension connected with the events in Poland.

The situation improved especially after the final registration of the Solidarnosc trade union, which international economic circles received as a concrete step on the path to stabilizing social and economic relations in Poland.

In a commentary on the banks' statements, the Swiss radio stressed that the sensible decisions currently taken in Poland turn away the danger of upsetting the balance in Europe. This is sure to consolidate the important role Poland plays--in alliance with the remaining socialist states--in developing peaceful international cooperation for the benefit of detente and to improve European security.

It is simultaneously pointed out that the ways, speed and results of solutions to Poland's domestic turmoil exert a considerable influence not only on Poland's international position and her ability to play a constructive international role, but also shaping East-West relations, in the interest of development and progress in Europe.

THAI DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER VISITS WARSAW

LD180952 Warsaw PAP in English 2012 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Nov (PAP)—The Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs of Thailand Arun Phanuphong stayed in Poland from November 14 to 17.

His talks with the Polish Deputy Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski focused on bilateral relations, some international problems and lines of the two countries' foreign policy.

Minister Phanuphong was also received by Poland's Foreign Minister Jozef Czyrek and had a talk with the Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade and Shipping Antoni Karas.

A trade agreement was signed during the visit.

FRG SAID EXPLOITING POPE JOHN PAUL II VISIT

LD181436 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0900 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Text] Bonn, 18 Nov (PAP)--PAP Special correspondent Zdzislaw Morawski writes:

It has been obvious right from the start that his West German hosts want to exploit Pope John Paul II's 5-day visit to the FRG for their own political purposes. This was confirmed by President Carstens during the welcoming ceremony in Cologne Airport and then during his speech at the reception in honor of the pope in Bruehl near Bonn. The head of the West German state recalled in his speeches that the "German nation is divided" and that the aim of the policies being pursued by the FRG is "to act for the benefit of peace in Europe in which the German nation would have its unity restored by means of free self-determination."

President Carstens, just as other secular and church representatives of the FRG [words indistinct] airport spoke about the visit of the head of the Catholic Church to Germany and not to the FRG. Another example is the extensive documentation which the conference of the FRG Episcopate distributed to 3,500 correspondents from all over the world who are accredited for the visit. The material includes maps showing both German states together without delineating their (?borders); only the borders of the dioceses were marked. It is stated in the supplement to the maps that they embrace the territory of the FRG and the GDR, but note is made of the existence of the so-called Berlin conference of the Episcopate--the conference of the GDR bishops. In this context every observer gets the impression that the FRG church and at least the Christian-Democratic political circles in this country are consciously exploiting the pope's visit for the moral and political support of the cause of unifying Germany.

POLICE ARREST FRG NEWSMAN IN SZCZECIN

LD182019 Hamburg DPA in German 1903 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Excerpts] Dortmund, 19 Nov (DPA)--The Polish police have arrested Dortmund reporter-photographer Hans-Peter Heinrichs after he visited the Szcecin office of the independent trade union Solidarity. The WESTDEUTSCHE ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG says the 29-year-old reporter is on its staff. A "committee for the right to independent trade unions"--not previously heard of--stated in Duesseldorf today that he had brought donations and Solidarity pledges from Western trade unionists to the Szczecin union.

Heinrichs has been detained by the Szczecin militia since 11 November. The local Solidarity union states that the Polish authorities have accused him of "possessing incriminating material." The donation he handed over was half of about DM (?400) collected by the Frankfurt area branch of the teachers' union.

Heinrich's fiancee and parents have appealed among others to SPD Chairman Willy Brandt for help.

NATIONAL BANK RESTRICTS SALE OF CSSR CURRENCY

LD181846 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Polish National Bank announcement]

[Text] As of 20 November Polish citizens traveling individually to Czechoslovakia are not entitled to purchase CSSR korunas within 90 days of their last purchase of that currency. The above decision does not apply to citizens whose journey is due to an important emergency. The reason for the journey should be documented at the time of the purchase of currency.

At the same time we recall that decisions concerning the obligation for Polish citizens to possess a minimum of Kcs 80 for each day of their stay in Czechoslovakia remain unchanged. The same applies to regulations by virtue of which they qualify for exemption from this obligation.

Identical decisions apply to Czechoslovak citizens arriving in Poland.

HUNCARIAN TRANSIT CARGO REACHING RECORD LEVELS

LD171626 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Summary] Hungarian transit cargo is reaching record levels this year at the Szczecin-Swinoujacie port complex. By the end of October, more than 290,000 tons of Hungarian foreign trade commodities had been transloaded there: the largest share went to general cargo and Soviet apatitas and cellulose. There is expected to be a further increase in Hungarian transit cargo via Szczecin and Swinoujacie in the coming years. The only obstacle is the railroads, which cannot always supply the necessary number of cars.

JAGIELSKI TO VISIT PARIS 21 NOVEMBER FOR TALKS

LD181324 Paris Domestic Service in French 1300 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Text] The Polish Deputy Premier Mieczyslav Jagielski will come to Paris in 3 days' time on a working visit. He will be received by Valery Giscard d'Estaing Friday afternoon. He will also have talks with the minister of foreign affairs and the minister of economy. The Quai d'Orsay points out that this visit takes place within the framework of economic and financial relations between Poland and France. One must not forget, however, that Mieczyslav Jagielski was the member of the Polish Government who acted as negotiator with Lech Walesa for the conclusion of the Gdansk agreements, and one must not forget either that Poland is passing through a grave economic crisis at the moment.

BRIEFS

POLISH-AMERICAN ECONOMIC COUNCIL--The Polish-American Economic Council affiliates over 100 leading representatives of Polish and American trade and industry, and for the past 6 years has acted as an advisory body to the Governments of Poland and the United States. In May 1981 the council will hold its seventh session in Warsaw to review the state and prospects of Polish-American economic relations. At present, discussions are going on to set up further working groups charged with detailed problems of cooperation between small and medium Polish and American enterprises, and of agricultural cooperation. [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Nov 80 p 2 AU]

INTERVOIVODSHIP MEETING--An inter-voivodship meeting of party aktiv from Gorzow, Koszalin and Slupsk was held yesterday in Koszalin. It was devoted to the assessment of the sociopolitical situation in the country and the task of the party in the implementation of the decisions made by the sixth plenum of the Central Committee. The meeting was attended by candidate member of the Politburo, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Emil Wojtaszek. [Text] [Szczecin Domestic Service in Polish 1555 GMT 6 Nov 80 LD]

IMPORTED FRUIT--The tricity ports have recently been receiving ships with imported fruit and other food. The unloading of 2,400 tons of bananas from Colombia ended today in Gdansk. They were brought by the Polish Ocean Lines vessel MS Gdynski Koszynier. Unloading began today of 2,100 tons of lemons. The foreign trade central agency AGROS informs us that it has commissioned the Polish Ocean Lines to bring 26,000 tons of citrus fruits, that is 6,500 tons more than in the pre-Christmas period last year. [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 14 Nov 80 LD]

CONTINUED REPORTAGE ON CEAUSESCU STATE VISIT TO DENMARK

Joint Communique

AU171342 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 13 Nov 80 pp 1, 2

["Communique" issued on Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu's visit to Denmark 10-13 November]

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Elena Ceausescu paid a state visit to the Kingdom of Denmark from 10-13 November 1980, at the invitation of Her Majesty Queen Margrethe II and Prince Consort Henrik.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Prime Minister Anker Jorgensen had friendly and fruitful talks on the development of Romanian-Danish relations, and on the main issues of the international situation.

The talks were attended by:

For Romania: Elena Ceausescu, first deputy prime minister of the government; Gheorghe Oprea, first deputy prime minister of the government; Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs; Stana Dragoi, Romania's ambassador to Denmark, and other officials.

For Denmark: Kjeld Olesen, minister of foreign affairs; Axel Serup, Denmark's ambassador to Romania, and other officials.

Proceeding from full observance of each state's sovereign right to choose and follow its own political, economic and social line and to freely develop its international relations, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Prime Minister Anker Jorgensen expressed the common determination to promote the political dialogue between Romania and Denmark in order to further strengthen their relations of friendship and cooperation. They pointed out the importance of meetings at the highest level, and agreed to intensify contacts between the two countries at various official levels.

The sides agreed to encourage and assist exchanges between parliaments; political organizations; representatives of trade and economic firms and enterprises; social, cultural and scientific institutes; and individuals of the respective countries.

The sides examined the stage of economic cooperation and trade exchange between Romania and Denmark, and reiterated their interest in further developing this mutually advantageous cooperation.

The two sides expressed satisfaction at the conclusion of an agreement between the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Government of the Kingdom of Denmark on promoting and mutually guaranteeing investments and a governmental loan agreement to finance imports of machinery and equipment from Denmark.

The sides agreed to find ways and means to continue to increase exchanges and cooperation in industry, machine-building, ship-building, food industry and other fields of mutual interest.

The sides agreed to promote joint projects of scientific-technical research, exchange of information and technical data, and transfer of technology in fields of mutual interest.

The sides expressed the desire to ensure a better knowledge of the material and intellectual assets of the two countries, and to promote relations of friendship between the Romanian and Danish peoples.

The sides expressed their support for increasing the role of the United Nations in the peaceful and equitable resolution of international political and economic problems. Romania and Denmark will continue to act to fully implement the goals and principles of the United Nations.

The sides expressed profound concern with the increase in tension characterizing the international situation of late. They spoke out against resorting to force or the threat of force in relations between states, and reiterated that international differences should be resolved through peaceful means. In this respect, they stressed the particular importance devolving on continuing the process of detente, on the basis of principles of equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, each nation's right to freely shape its destiny and other principles of international law.

The two sides reiterated their attachment to the goal of building security and developing cooperation in Europe. They stressed the importance of strictly observing all principles of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE] and effectively implementing all its provisions. They noted with concern that the process of fulfilling the obligations assumed in Helsinki has not been up to the expectations of peace, and there has even been a certain regression. The sides noted that their discussions coincided with the opening of the second CSCE meeting in Madrid, as part of the institutional follow up to the conference. They stressed the role incumbent upon the Madrid meeting to assist the full implementation of the Final Act provisions. They also stressed that balanced results based on negotiations should be attained in Madrid, and that substantial progress be made in all areas of the Final Act, something which will undoubtedly exert a positive impact upon the evolution of the entire international situation.

The sides reiterated the basic need to continue the comprehensive process initiated by the Final Act and supported the holding of a new meeting, as part of the CSCE institutional follow-up.

Referring to proposals concerning the military aspects of security, the two sides stressed the particular importance of making progress in this field at the Madrid meeting. They reiterated interest in expanding measures of trust, reducing military confrontation and promoting disarmament in Europe. They discussed various initiatives on convening a conference on the military aspects of security and disarmament in Europe.

The sides exchanged detailed views on the situation in the Middle East, Southeast Asia, Southern Africa and other conflicts in the world, stressing the need to speedily find peaceful and negotiated solutions, to the benefit of the respective peoples and in the interest of peace and security in the world.

Romania and Denmark expressed concern with the danger posed by the quantitative and qualitative arms race to mankind's peace, security and future, as well as with the burden represented by military expenditures on peoples and their development. The sides stressed the need to put an end to this race and to adopt real and significant disarmament measures, both in the field of nuclear and conventional weapons. The sides expressed the hope that the negotiations on reducing nuclear forces in Europe will lead to positive results as soon as possible. They also expressed the hope that the various proposals recently presented at the Vienna negotiations on reducing military forces and arms will lead to concrete results.

Assessing that the increasing gap between industrial and developing countries is an obstacle to the progress of all peoples, an unsettling factor in the world economy and a mounting danger to overall security, Romania and Denmark expressed the common determination to contribute to establishing a new international economic order. They considered that the negotiations on building a new international economic order will be vitally important for the eighties. Stressing the importance of the new international strategy of development, including the agreed goal on official assistance for development, they pointed out the importance of overall negotiations due to begin next year. They expressed the hope that the political determination to find solutions to problems still unresolved will be manifest.

The sides noted that the state visit to Denmark by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Elena Ceausescu; the talks held, and the agreements signed during the visit will make an important contribution to developing relations between Romania and Denmark, and promoting cooperation and friendship in Europe and the world.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Elena Ceausescu invited Her Majesty Queen Margrethe II of Denmark and Prince Consort Henrik to pay a state visit to Romania. On behalf of the Romanian Government, a similar invitation was extended to Prime Minister Anker Jorgensen. The invitations were accepted with pleasure. The dates of the visits will be established through diplomatic channels.

11 Nov Dinner Toast

AU171144 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 12 Nov 80 pp 1, 3

[Toast by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu at a government dinner in Copenhagen on 11 November attended by Danish Prime Minister Jorgensen]

[Text] Mr Prime Minister, Mrs Ingrid Jorgensen, ladies and gentlemen,

I would like to thank you for your welcome greetings and extend cordial and best wishes to you and all those present here.

Our visit to Denmark is an expression of relations of friendship and cooperation between our peoples. It is true that Romania and Denmark have different social systems; but then, we do live in a very diverse world. Under these conditions, we must find ways and means for active cooperation, based on principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs of other states, mutual advantage and complete renunciation of force and the threat of force. The relations between Romania and Denmark are developing on the basis of these very principles.

We started our talks today and have reached certain joint conclusions on further developing economic, scientific-technological and cultural relations between our countries. I am convinced that the current visit and talks, as well as the trade agreement and other understandings to be concluded, will give new dimensions to Romanian-Danish relations.

We have also discussed certain international issues. We will continue our exchange of views on these issues tomorrow. We have both spoken out for a successful development of the meeting due to start soon in Madrid.

We, European countries, are directly interested in detente and a policy of peace and national independence. All European countries are therefore directly interested in banning the deployment and development of new nuclear missiles in Europe. All European countries, regardless of their social system, are equally interested in halting the arms race and proceeding to disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament. The most powerful military forces and the most modern armaments, including nuclear weapons, are concentrated in Europe. If these arms were to be used, one could say that nothing would be left of the civilization built for centuries and millennia. Therefore, we have a responsibility to the past, present and future of mankind to do everything possible to prevent the use of nuclear weapons.

There is much talk about all kinds of rights; all kinds of theories are being expounded on human rights, but the basic right of man and people is being neglected, the right to life, freedom and independence. In the name of life and freedom, we must prevent a nuclear war!

We must do everything possible to base relations among countries in Europe and throughout the world on principles of revolutionary humanism and full equality.

Mr Prime Minister, you referred to East-West relations. Indeed, these relations are most important. We must do everything possible to ensure that there are relations of cooperation between socialist and Western capitalist countries. Let us attain and preserve the unity of Europe, based on diversity of social systems and on each people's free development.

However, international life is not limited to East-West relations. We live in a world of great changes. Scores of new states are emerging from the ruins of old empires. Life and events powerfully demonstrate that peoples want to eliminate the imperialist and colonialist policy of oppression and diktat, and replace it with new and democratic relations. As a matter of fact, a topical issue of current international life is the need to establish new relations among states based on recognition of the right of peoples to independence and freedom. Just this year, Zimbabwe won its independence, something which proved that, regardless of the existing problems, the key issue is to ensure the independence and sovereignty of each nation. Social progress cannot be attained by oppressing other peoples.

We, small and medium-sized countries, are duty bound to take the side of peoples struggling for independence, and to do everything possible to create a world in which each nation can develop freely, as it wishes.

We belong to two different military blocs. I do not wish to refer to their history now. However, we must overcome the existence of blocs! Peace and detente cannot be conceived under conditions of maintaining military blocs! We must create the necessary conditions for peoples to be able to coexist without blocs! It is true that, in the present circumstances, we must attain a balance of forces; but this balance must be attained not by continuing the arms race but by proceeding to a continuous, balanced and controlled reduction of armaments. Only by intensifying efforts and resolutely acting along these lines will we be able to bring about a reduction in the arms race.

We must never forget that, in today's world, about two thirds of the world's population live in poverty, and that the division of the world into rich and poor cannot continue indefinitely. Therefore, we must do everything possible to establish a new international economic order!

Hence, there are many problems on which mankind's future, peace, detente and progress depend. Perhaps there has been no other age in which history has set so many tasks for the peoples as now. We must do everything possible to fulfill these historical responsibilities. Let us work to ensure that the wonderful achievements of science and human knowledge serve man's progress, happiness and well-being! It is in this spirit that Romania approaches the current international events.

There are complicated problems in the world, but we are firmly convinced that peoples will know how to ensure society's progress. There will be more difficulties in the future, but we are convinced that, through joint action, peoples can impose peace, respect for independence and progress.

That is why we believe that everything should be done to attain a united Europe of peace and peaceful cooperation. We would like Romania and Denmark to cooperate more fruitfully, together with the other people in Europe and throughout the world, in order to attain a better and more just world. We hope that this is the spirit in which we will conclude our talks and strengthen this cooperation.

Mr Prime Minister, you stressed here that world politics would not be so difficult if all countries thought like Romania and Denmark. I am convinced that all peoples think like our countries, since all peoples want peace, freedom, independence and progress. Therefore, we can be sure that, through joint action, the people shall ensure the triumph of the policy of peace, cooperation, freedom and independence for all nations.

I want to raise my glass for a policy of peace and national independence!

To your health Mr Prime Minister and Mrs Jorgensen!

To the happiness and well-being of the friendly Danish people!

To ever more fruitful cooperation between Romania and Denmark!

To peace throughout the world!

To the health of you all! (applause)

Danish Premier Toast

AU121123 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0938 GMT 12 Nov 80

[Report on toast by Danish Premier Anker Jorgensen at Copenhagen dinner for Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu on 11 November]

[Text] Copenhagen, 12 Nov (AGERPRES)--Hailing President Nicolae Ceausescu's visit--the first a Romanian head of state is paying to Denmark--the Danish premier pointed to the usefulness of the bilateral talks that started.

Prime Minister Jorgensen highlighted the convergence of the two countries' viewpoints on a series of questions, just as the steady progress of the Romanian-Danish relations.

The speaker underlined the efforts Romania's president makes in favor of world detente. The maintenance of the East-West dialogue is crucial--he said--and it is an axiomatic truth that the whole mankind's future is at stake. Referring next to the fact that fundamental principles of the international community had been seriously violated, that events occurred in various parts of the world generating worry and feelings of insecurity, the speaker pointed to the world community's will to achieve a constructive cooperation.

Stating that the principles laid down in the UN Charter and in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe should govern interstate relations, the Danish prime minister pointed to the keen interest his country shows in the continuation of the process started at the CSCE and expressed his hope that the expected progress be made in security and cooperation on the continent.

Prime Minister Jorgensen set forth Denmark's stand on the policy of detente.

The speaker highlighted the need for improving the economic and social status of the developing countries, for favoring the North-South dialogue, for contributing to the establishment of a more just world economic order--a moral obligation, a duty of everyone as the speaker defined it. In conclusion he said: Denmark and Romania have different economic and social systems but the cooperation between the two countries proves that we need each other and can learn from each other. We want to develop mutual cooperation ever more. The agreements on the guarantee of investments and credits to be signed confirm the positive evolution of the Danish-Romanian cooperation in the ensuring years.

Danish Parliament Address

AU171425 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 12 Nov 80 p 2

[Speech by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu to the Danish Parliament on 11 November in Copenhagen]

[Text] Mr Speaker of the Parliament, Messrs Deputies, I am glad to be able to meet with you, deputies, representatives of the Danish people, during my visit to Denmark. I wish to take this opportunity to extend cordial wishes to the Danish Parliament on my own behalf and on behalf of Romanian parliamentarians.

You recently visited Romania, had talks with representatives of the Romanian Parliament and were thus able to note the concerns of the Romanian Parliament and people with building a comprehensively developed socialist society. Romania is making steady efforts to build a better and more just social system, which can ensure all the people's national and social freedom, and full participation in running all fields of activity.

Indeed, our countries have different social systems. We are trying to attain a new kind of democracy in which all social classes and categories can equally participate in running the state, and we believe that we have attained certain good results in this respect.

Good cooperation is developing between our parliaments on issues of mutual interest. Romania and Denmark have relations of economic, scientific-technological and cultural cooperation.

During our visits and the talks to be held, we wish to give new dimensions to this cooperation.

Likewise, there is a broad international cooperation between our countries. This cooperation deals with the need to build a better and more just world, based on fully equal rights between all nations, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs of other states and mutual advantage.

We are developing active cooperation on issues concerning security and cooperation in Europe. The Conference [on Security and Cooperation in Europe] has not yet started at this hour in Madrid. There are still difficulties on procedural matters. However, we hope that the participants will show responsibility for the cause of peace and detente, and will reach an agreement so that the meeting can begin its work.

We hope the Madrid meeting gives new impetus to implementing the documents signed in Helsinki, and call for a conference on trust, military disengagement and disarmament in Europe: We also hope the conference's continuity is ensured by fixing the date and place of the next meeting.

Romania and Denmark belong to two different military blocs. However, we must do everything possible to overcome and eliminate military blocs and to prevent the deployment and development of new nuclear missiles in Europe. It is also necessary to firmly act to put an end to the arms race and to reduce military expenditures, troops and arms.

We wish to closely cooperate for a new international economic order, and for solving conflicts and all problems through negotiations alone.

In this respect, we believe that parliaments play an important role and, as we discussed in Bucharest, we want the Romanian and Danish parliaments to actively cooperate in this respect. Regardless of political convictions, it is necessary to do everything possible for a policy of detente, peace and national independence.

I would like to express the conviction that relations between our countries will increasingly develop in the future and, in this framework, the relations between our parliaments will also record a continuous expansion.

I wish you success in your activity!

I wish the Danish people much prosperity and happiness! (applause)

DINNER TOASTS GIVEN DURING CEAUSESCU VISIT TO NORWAY

Toast at 13 Nov Dinner

AU171522 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 14 Nov 80 pp 1, 3

[Toast by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu at an official dinner given by Norwegian King Olav V on 13 November in Oslo]

[Text] Your Majesty, Your Highnesses, excellencies, ladies and gentlemen,

We are pleased to again visit friendly Norway and, on this occasion, to extend warm greetings and best wishes for health, happiness, progress, prosperity and peace to Your Majesty and the Norwegian Government and people.

The current visit is an expression of the positive course of Romanian-Norwegian relations and of the common desire to give new and greater dimensions to cooperation and collaboration between our countries and peoples.

We note with satisfaction that Romanian-Norwegian economic exchanges, although still fluctuating, have recently recorded a certain increase; last year, their volume increased 60 percent compared with the previous year. Certain cooperation ventures were initiated and developed, particularly in shipbuilding and naval equipment. In spite of all this, the level of these exchanges continues to be quite modest compared with our countries' possibilities. There are also opportunities to expand cooperation in scientific-technological exchanges, culture, education, health, tourism and other fields of mutual interest.

We are convinced that, during this visit and during the meetings with representatives of Norwegian economic life, we will reach agreements capable of laying a broader foundation to developing Romanian-Norwegian cooperation and collaboration, in the spirit of full equality and mutual advantage. There is no doubt that the promotion of comprehensive cooperation between Romania and Norway is fully in accord with the interests for progress of the two peoples, and also makes a concrete contribution to the cause of detente and peace in Europe and the world.

Although Romania and Norway are countries with different social systems and belong to different military pacts, they have many common interests, particularly in living and developing in peace and security. They are interested in actively cooperating, along with other nations, to ensure that Europe becomes a continent of peace and cooperation, in which each people can develop independently, free from any kind of outside aggression or interference. In this respect, it is only natural that our countries should want to contribute to ensuring that the Madrid meeting, whose proceedings are taking place these days, concludes with good results, thus meeting the expectations of European peoples. We wish that this meeting will give new impetus to broad and unhampered development of cooperation in Europe, primarily that it should agree upon the convening of a conference devoted to military disengagement and disarmament in Europe. In view of the huge concentration of troops and armaments, both conventional and nuclear, in Europe, all European peoples are vitally interested in attaining practical measures of military disengagement and disarmament, primarily in halting the deployment and development of new missiles, which only increase the danger of a nuclear war and the insecurity of all the continent's nations, be they in the north, south, east or west. We welcome the understanding between the USSR and the United States to begin negotiations in this field. We also hope that practical measures will be taken to halt the deployment and development of new missiles in Europe.

In the current circumstances--when very serious and complex problems have accumulated internationally, problems that increasingly jeopardize the policy of detente, cooperation and peace--it is imperative that all states and peoples firmly act to settle conflicts and differences between states through peaceful means and negotiations alone. In this respect, we attach great importance to, and wish to see an early end of the military confrontation between Iran and Iraq. We hope that negotiations will begin to peacefully resolve problems between these two states, in the spirit of mutual understanding and respect. We advocate an overall and negotiated solution of the Middle East conflict and of other contentious problems in various parts of the world. We must do everything possible to ensure that the use or threat of force is renounced, to attain overall disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, to eliminate underdevelopment, to attain a new economic order, to democratize international relations and to increase the role of the United Nations in resolving problems facing mankind today, with the participation of all states, be they large, medium-sized or small. Romania is determined to make a contribution to attaining all these goals and is convinced that it will closely cooperate with Norway in these efforts, as well as with all nations which are struggling for peace, progress and national independence and wish to ensure that cooperation, detente and the peoples' right to free and independent existence, security and peace are lastingly established in the world.

With this conviction and the belief that our visit to your country and its results will mark an outstanding point in developing Romanian-Norwegian cooperation, I toast:

The health of Your Majesty and their Royal Highnesses; Norway and the Norwegian people; friendship and cooperation between our countries and peoples; and peace throughout the world!

The health of you all.

Toast at Government Dinner

AU181337 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 15 Nov 80 pp 1, 3

[Toast by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu at a government dinner attended by the Norwegian king and queen, and Prime Minister Nordli, in Oslo on 14 November]

[Text] Your Majesty, Your Highnesses, Mr Prime Minister, friends,

To begin with, I would like to thank you, Mr Prime Minister, for your welcome and for the nice words about the Romanian people, in turn, I wish to extend best wishes for much prosperity and well-being to you and the friendly Norwegian people on my own behalf and on behalf of the Romanian people.

Indeed, our visit to Norway, the first such visit at a high level, marks an important point in Romanian-Norwegian relations. Although we are at two opposite ends of Europe, so to speak, and have different social systems, good relations of cooperation have developed and are developing between our countries. During the current visit and talks, we have reached several common conclusions on further developing Romanian-Norwegian relations. I would primarily like to state with much satisfaction that we have identified several opportunities for expanding economic, scientific-technological and cultural relations between our countries.

We have also discussed a large number of international issues and have reached the common conclusion that we must act to promote a policy of detente, national independence and peace, which can facilitate each nation's free development without any foreign interference.

I would like to welcome the start of the Madrid meeting, which gives us hope that further action will be taken to stimulate cooperation and collaboration in Europe and throughout the world.

It is true that there are many complicated problems in the world; but there is only one alternative to the policy of force and war; namely, cooperation, detente, renunciation of force and the threat of force, and the solution of all contentious problems through political negotiations. For us and all European peoples, the question of disarmament and renunciation of the new nuclear missiles is a vital question. We must do everything possible to ensure that Europe, which has given so much to civilization, can live in peace and quiet! We must be fully aware of the fact that a nuclear war would destroy everything that has been attained during millennia in Europe and throughout the world. Therefore, the struggle for disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, is one of the key issues facing mankind today. We must do everything possible to ensure that the wonderful achievements of science do not serve destruction, but the progress, well-being, independence and happiness of people!

We all have great possibilities for mankind's present and future. It is necessary to do even more to eliminate the division of the world into rich and poor countries, to attain a new international economic order and to strengthen the cooperation between our peoples and all peoples in Europe and throughout the world for a better and more just world! Let us do everything possible to ensure that each people can make a contribution to the cause of civilization and progress. I believe that we, Romania and Norway and generally speaking all small, medium-sized, developing and nonaligned countries, can and must make a greater contribution to the policy of detente and peace.

I would like to again express satisfaction at the results of the talks and the good understandings reached. I would like to thank you for the hospitality extended to us throughout our stay in Norway.

We go home with pleasant impressions about the Norwegian people's work, life and concerns. We are convinced that the agreements and understandings concluded open up a new stage in developing Romanian-Norwegian cooperation.

I invited Your Majesty to pay an official visit to Romania and you accepted this invitation. I am convinced that your visit will mark an important point in continuously developing our relations.

Likewise, on behalf of the Romanian Government, I extended to you, Mr Prime Minister, an invitation to visit Romania, an invitation which you accepted. Consequently, we will be able to continue contacts, talks and cooperation between our countries and peoples at the highest levels.

I would like to wish the friendly Norwegian people ever greater successes in all their activity for socioeconomic development, well-being and happiness;

I wish to raise my glass to the health of His Majesty and Their Highnesses;

To your health, Mr Prime Minister!

To the health of you all!

To friendship between Romania and Norway!

To Norway and the Norwegian people!

To cooperation and peace throughout the world! (applause)

Nordli Toast

AU151351 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1132 GMT 15 Nov 80

[Report on toast by Norwegian Prime Minister Odvar Nordli at a government dinner for Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu in Oslo on 14 November]

[Text] Oslo, 15 Nov (AGERPRES)--To the world the Romanian president is a consistent militant for the independence and integrity of each nation, said the Norwegian prime minister in a toast he proposed at the dinner in honor of the distinguished Romanian guests on November 14. He highlighted Romania's role, contribution and firm commitment to the cause of a new world economic order.

Referring to the talks he had the same day with the Romanian head of state on the international situation, the Norwegian premier noted that the opinions of the two sides were very much the same on most issues such as detente, disarmament and arms control.

Expressing concern over the arms race and the accumulation of nuclear weapons, he showed that the only way out of the deadlock was collaboration among all the nations, big and small, irrespective of the political and economic systems to which they belonged.

The process of detente initiated at the Helsinki conference must be furthered, he said, declaring in favor of expanding the measures of trust and of a conference on disarmament in Europe.

The premier considered that the relations between the rich and the poor countries, the inequity in the distribution of goods bore the germs of open conflict and stressed that a more just distribution of wealth among these countries was actually a component of the peace policy.

The prime minister highlighted in the conclusion of his toast that although Romania and Norway belonged to different political, economic and social systems, the relations between them have developed and progressed. President Nicolae Ceausescu's visit, he said in conclusion, has created good foundations for the further expansion of the collaboration between the two countries.

CONSUMER GOODS AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH USSR

AU181102 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 15 Nov 80 P 5

[Text] Ana Muresan, minister of domestic trade, received on Friday V. G. Bychkov, deputy minister of trade of the USSR, and A. I. Yevetyev, deputy minister of trade of the Ukrainian SSR.

The same day, Dumitru Petrescu, first deputy minister of domestic trade, and V. G. Bychkov signed a protocol on exchanges of consumer goods between the two ministries for 1981.

ECONOMIC COMMISSION SESSION WITH USSR BEGINS IN BUCHAREST

AU181524 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Text] The proceedings of the 12th session of the Romanian-Soviet Intergovernment Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation began in Bucharest today. In the spirit of understandings concluded during the meetings and talks between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, the two sides are examining new actions and definite measures designed to further expand and diversify trade exchange and economic cooperation between the two countries.

The Romanian delegation is led by Cornel Burtica, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, and the Soviet delegation by Talyzin, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers.

ANDREI, SENEGALESE FOREIGN MINISTER HOLD TALKS

AU181920 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1850 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Text] Bucharest, 18 Nov (AGERPRES)--The official talks between Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs of Romania, and Moustapha Niasse, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Senegal, continued in Bucharest on November 18.

New possibilities were examined and actions were covenanted for deepening and diversifying the bilateral collaboration and cooperation in the economic, technico-scientific and cultural domains, as well as in other fields of activity.

During the exchange of views on current international questions the necessity was highlighted to more decisively act for the resumption of the policy of detente, peace and security in Europe and in the world, for military disengagement and disarmament, for a peaceful, negotiated settlement of all interstate litigious problems for the intensification of the efforts towards eradicating underdevelopment and establishing a new world economic order.

JOINT TRADE COMMISSION WITH THAILAND BEGINS SESSION

AU181305 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1215 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Text] Bucharest, 18 Nov (AGERPRES)--The second session of the Joint Romanian-Thai Commission of Commercial Cooperation started in Bucharest on November 18.

They analyzed during the proceedings the current stage of fulfillment of the understandings reached at the previous session of the joint commission, the further development prospects of the Romanian-Thai relations as regards the trade exchanges and cooperation in production.

CEAUSESCU CONGRATULATES JORDANIAN KING ON BIRTHDAY

AU181100 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 14 Nov 80 p 5

[Text] To His Majesty King Husayn ibn Talal, king of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan,

On your 45th birthday, I have the great pleasure of extending to you warm congratulations and most heartfelt wishes for health and happiness.

I express the conviction that relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries will continue to develop and expand, to the benefit of both our peoples and in the interest of the cause of peace in the Middle East and throughout the world.

Many happy returns of the day!

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

CEAUSESCU VISITS ILFOV COUNTY COOPERATIVE

AU181529 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Summary] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the republic, today visited Movilita agricultural production cooperative in Ilfov County where he examined the manner in which recommendations on standardizing and modernizing agricultural machines are implemented and measures aimed at improving agricultural machines.

"The party secretary general was accompanied by Comrades Gheorghe Oprea, Nicolae Giosan and Vasile Marin. This analysis, which took place on a special plot of land where various types of combines were tested during corn harvesting, was also attended by Angelo Miculescu, deputy prime minister and minister of agriculture and food industry; Gheorghe Petrescu, minister secretary of state at the Ministry of Machine-Building Industry; Vasile Musat, first secretary of the Ilfov County party committee; research workers, specialists and designers from the two ministries."

SUNDIC VIEWS BEIJING, MOSCOW RECEPTION OF REAGAN ELECTION

LD181650 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Milika Sundic commentary]

[Text] The American president-elect, Ronald Reagan, who is preparing to move into the White House on 20 January next year, has received two interesting offers--one from Beijing and one from Moscow. Both are equally significant because they contain the first indications of the possible trends in the socalled great triangle at least with regard to China's and the Soviet Union's behavior towards Reagan.

The Chinese offer contains an invitation to the American president-elect to pay an official visit to Beijing. The invitation was extended by Deng Xiaoping, vice-chairman of the Central Committee of the CCP, and certainly the most influential personality in the Chinese leadership. Though for the time being it is not known when Reagan can visit China, the fact that the first associate of the president-elect, vice president George Bush visited China immediately following Reagan's nomination as the presidential candidate of the Republican Party, leads to the conclusion that China had already at that time expressed the wish that Reagan--should he be elected president--visit Beijing.

True enough, it should be recalled that George Bush had gone to Beijing with the task, entrusted to him by Reagan to assure the Chinese that the Republican administration--should it come to power--would not behave toward China in the way in which Reagan had spoken in some of his preelection statements. For on one occasion Reagan stated--and this he repeated on several occasions--that his administration would reestablish diplomatic relations with Taiwan and this understandably caused a storm of indignation in China. When Bush left China--at least that is the way it looked at the time--one could not gain the impression that Chinese leaders were satisfied with his explanation. However, on his return to the United States, Bush said that his visit to Beijing had been successful and he was evidently right. The invitation extended to Reagan to visit China leads to such a conclusion because it shows that his election as U.S. president suits China more for several reasons.

Like China, Moscow too does not regret too much--and perhaps not at all--that Jimmy Carter suffered an election defeat, though it has plenty of reasons to behave differently. This merely means that the Soviet leaders too, regardless of eveything Reagan had been saying in the course of the election campaign--and he said quite a lot--do not believe that the Soviet-American relations will be worse than they were during Carter's mandate. In support of this conclusion we shall quote part of the toast made by Leonid Brezhnev at the dinner given in honor of the president of Mozambique, Samora Machel. It says: I can state with full responsiblity that all the constructive steps made by the U.S. administration in the sphere of Soviet-American relations and significant world problems will meet with positive reaction by the Soviet Union. The above-mentioned toast--and this is significant--and Brezhnev's offer too, do not contain any criticisms at the expense of Reagan's preelection statements.

Trends in the so-called great triangle--the United States-China-the Soviet Union--have always attracted the great attention of the world public. Right now one could say, more than ever before. Both China and the Soviet Union, let us recall, had better relations with Nixon's and Ford's administrations than with Jimmy Carter's administration. True, this does not yet mean that this will also be the case with Reagan though both Beijing and Moscow hope for it.

On the other hand, the American president-elect, regardless of everybody's assertions about his foreign policy being more rigid than Carter's, has also no reasons to deepen or open up new fronts either toward China or the Soviet Union. If the conclusion mentioned is correct--and everything says that it is because it is confirmed both by the Chinese invitation to Reagan and by Brezhnev's statement on relations between the United States and the Soviet Union--it is possible to expect that the relations in the great triangle will move along new trends and that a certain adaptation, in all likelihood at the expense of concessions by all three countries will take place.

WOJTASZEK, POLISH SEJM DELEGATION MEET WITH ASSEMBLY MEMBERS

AU181910 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1716 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Nov (TANJUG)--Today's talks between the delegations of the People's Republic of Poland's Sejm and Yugoslavia's Assembly led by Emil Wojtaszek and Rudi Kolak respectively were devoted to bilateral information on the current questions of the two countries' sociopolitical and economic development. Bilateral Yugoslav-Polish relations were also discussed. Emphasis was laid on traditionally friendly relations between Yugoslavia and Poland and both sides expressed wish for their further strengthening and widening.

Informing his hosts of this being the first delegation sent abroad by the Sejm during its present term, Wojtaszek came out in favor of further strengthening parliamentary cooperation between the two countries. He spoke about the current tasks of the Polish Sejm in overcoming the present difficulties.

Both sides exchanged opinions on current economic problems. Within this context, the guests were acquainted with measures being undertaken for the stabilization of Yugoslavia's national economy and with preparations for adopting the next medium-term economic development plan.

CSSR DEFENSE MINISTER DZUR VISITS MACEDONIA 18 NOV

LD182246 Prague CTK in English 2032 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Nov (CTK)--The visiting delegation of the Czechoslovak People's Army, led by Defence Minister Army General Martin Dzur, spent Tuesday in the military zone of the Macedonian capital, Skopje. The delegation met with the zone (?commander) and later inspected an armoured military brigade and the engineering plant Tito. In the afternoon, the Czechoslovak guests left for Split on the Adriatic coast.

DJURANOVIC TOAST AT DINNER FOR FRENCH PREMIER BARRE REPORTED

LD132250 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2018 GMT 13 Nov 80

[Text] Belgrade,13 Nov (TANJUG)--Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, and his wife, gave a dinner in the Palace of the Federation tonight in honor of Raymond Barre, premier of the French Republic, and his wife.

As well as the participants in today's Yugoslav-French talks and other personalities accompanying the French premier, the dinner was attended by Nikola Ljubicic, federal secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Branko Pesic, vice president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia; Ilija Vakic, president of the Yugoslav Economic Chamber; Mihailo Javorski, vice president of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly; Zivan Vasiljevic, member of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium; Tone Turnher, member of the Presidium of the Federal Board of the Federation of Veterans' Associations of the War of National Liberation of Yugoslavia; a number of members of the Federal Executive Council; prominent businessmen, cultural and public workers, and Sava Mikic, representative of Poilus d'Orient, the association of [word indistinct] Veterans.

During the dinner the visitor and his host exchanged toasts.

In the toast which Veselin Djuranovic gave on this occasion he said:

It is a particular honor and great pleasure for me, Mr Premier, to cordially greet you, Mrs Barre and the members of your delegation and to wish you a warm welcome and pleasant stay in our country.

Our peoples feel great sympathy toward France and highly value the friendship which traditionally links the peoples of our two countries. In Yugoslavia there has always been great respect for France's cultural heritage and modern achievements.

The firm devotion of our countries to the irreplaceable values of national independence and sovereignty form the foundation of our mutual relations and cooperation, which are based on mutual respect and friendship and the principles of equality of rights, noninterference and mutually beneficial cooperation. The relations and cooperation between Yugoslavia and France today are very good; they are developing successfully and in an all-round manner in many areas. The meetings between President Tito and Valery Giscard d'Estaing gave this development a very powerful stimulus and constitute a long-term inspiration for the constant expansion and enrichment of the diverse links between our countries and peoples.

The upward line and constant progress in the cooperation in all spheres of bilateral relations impose upon us the obligation to invest joint efforts to achieve a more balanced trade exchange through increasing Yugoslav exports and developing more modern and even more productive methods in our mutual and already rich economic cooperation. This is the main problem in our economic relations and a task which we must jointly resolve. Favorable conditions for the promotion of economic cooperation are also afforded by the new agreement between Yugoslavia and the European Economic Community. We must jointly endeavor to exploit these possibilities to the full. The Yugoslav-French Bank should also, through the expansion of its sphere of operations, become a factor in strengthening and promoting economic cooperation.

I am convinced, Mr Premier, that through increasing all-round bilateral cooperation to an even higher level we are creating the best conditions to resolve, in a constructive and frank dialogue and friendly atmosphere, all the open questions which could arise in our relations. Moreover, we hold the view that it is in our mutual interest for us to protect our good relations and cooperation in a resolute manner from all attempts, wherever they might come from, to disparage them or do them harm, and to continue to constantly promote them.

Present international relations are severely encumbered by crises and conflicts in various parts of the world which threaten to spread further, jeopardizing the security of many countries and peace in the world in general.

In our view the basic causes of such a development lie primarily in the exacerbation of relations between the blocs and in the rivalry between the great powers concerning the spheres of influence; in the frequent use of force in the settling of disputed problems; in the denial or violation of the right of countries to their independence, sovereignty and independent development; and in the efforts made to view the world through the prism of selfish interests and not as a community of sovereign and equal states which should jointly participate in and contribute to the settling of the burning problems of our time. All this increases the climate of mistrust, gives rise to insecurity and gives an impetus to the increasingly dangerous arms race.

All this is most directly threatening the independence and free development of countries, especially those in the so-called sensitive areas; and is hindering efforts to halt the present exacerbation of international relations and is increasing [word indistinct] loss of control over events, which could have dangerous consequences.

In our view, much greater and more effective efforts must be made to overcome the most acute crisis flashpoints. One of these is, above all, the crisis in the Middle East, where the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and its own state continue to be denied and where the Israeli government, exploiting the exacerbated situation in the region, insists on both old and new annexationist claims to occupied Arab territories.

We are very worried by the continuation of the military conflict between Iraq and Iran, two nonaligned countries which are on friendly terms with us. Each day this conflict claims greater and greater losses in human life and deals very heavy blows to the economic potentials and development of these countries and carries within itself an ever-growing threat of foreign interference and a widening of the conflict. The action of the group of nonaligned countries, including Yugoslavia, aimed at contributing to the creation of a climate more favorable to the settling of the conflict on just and (?honorable) foundations, is inspired by such views.

We are also interested in and are trying to make an active contribution to the lessening of tension and crisis in the region of the Mediterranean, where negative trends in relations between the great powers and between the blocs and in international relations in general are increasingly jeopardizing the positive achievements of detente. This imposes an even greater responsibility on all the participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to do all they can to overcome difficulties encountered at the meeting in Madrid and to ensure its success. If the opposite happens, we shall inevitably face an even more dangerous deterioration of the climate in Europe and further afield, and we are convinced that this is not in anybody's interest.

The way out of the present crisis state of affairs in world relations can only be found in strict respect for the independence, sovereignty and independent development of all the countries and in noninterference in their internal affairs. This should be the starting point in the search for just and lasting solutions to all the unsolved problems and to the existing crises and conflicts. Such principles and goals should also inspire the efforts aimed at resolving some of the vital problems of our time, such as [words indistinct] development and the overcoming of the wide gap between the developed and developing countries and disarmament. Everything possible should be done to overcome as speedily as possible the halt in the organization of the global talks and the adoption of a strategy for the next decade of development so that a real settlement of these problems will start at long last.

It is necessary to halt the unbridled arms race and open up better prospects in this field as well, because the present state brings to the world only the prospect of the balance of fear, a senseless waste of material wealth, and suffering and tribulations for numerous peoples. Due to this the halting of the arms race and opening of the process of disarmament is a vital need and an urgent task of the entire international community.

Proceeding from the ever-increasing interdependence between the crisis in international relations and the state of detente, it is indispensable that we should strive to revive and promote the process of relaxation and cooperation on the broadest foundations, in the interest of all countries. In the present world, full of suspicion and mutual mistrust, there is a greater need than ever before for dialogues and bridges of trust.

There is room for all in this exceptionally important work; great responsibility lies on all countries and especially on the great powers for the preservation of peace, development of cooperation on an equal footing, and stability of international relations.

This is the reason why we have declared ourselves on a permanent basis to be in favor of the policy of nonalignment, which not only corresponds best to the vital interests of our country, but has also affirmed itself as a vital factor in settling the most important international problems and in the progressive transformation of relations in the world.

I am convinced that your visit and the talks which we have held represent a fresh contribution to the further successful development of the traditionally good and comprehensive relations between Yugoslavia and France and thus also to the intensification of the process of the relaxation of tension and of cooperation in Europe and further afield.

I raise this glass to the health of Mr Valery Giscard d'Estaing, president of France; to your health, Mr Premier, to the health of Madame Barre and the members of your delegation, to friendship and cooperation between the peoples of Yugoslavia and the French people.

REPORTAGE CONTINUES ON KRAIGHER TOUR OF LATIN AMERICA

Talks With Peru's Belaunde

AU182121 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Nov 80 p 1

[Text] Lima, 13 Nov (TANJUG)--On the second day of the official friendly visit of the Yugoslav state delegation to Peru Sergej Kraigher, vice president of the SFRY Presidency and head of the Yugoslav delegation, and Peruvian President Belaunde continued their talks which they began yesterday. President Belaunde is giving a formal luncheon in honor of the high Yugoslav guest.

Sergej Kraigher, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, will also meet today with Manuel Ulloa Elias, Peruvian prime minister and minister of economy, finance and trade.

It is anticipated that, within the framework of the coming political and economic talks on future Yugoslav-Peruvian cooperation, members of the Yugoslav delegation will exchange views with Arias Stella, head of Peruvian diplomacy, Pablo Kucynski, minister of energy and mines, and Niels Ericson, minister of agriculture.

A mixed Yugoslav-Peruvian commission will be formed in the Peruvian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to prepare, through an exchange of views, a joint communique of the two countries in connection with Sergej Kraigher's visit to Peru.

Talks With Nicaraguan Leaders

AU181916 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1658 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Pool item]

[Text] Managua, 18 Nov (TANJUG)--Presidency of Yugoslavia Vice-President Sergej Kraigher and a Yugoslav state delegation members and Nicaraguan National Reconstruction Junta members noted that the nonaligned policy represents the basis for strengthening of security in the world.

The Yugoslav delegation, headed by Kraigher, arrived in Nicaragua yesterday.

Representatives of the Nicaraguan leadership informed the Yugoslav delegation about their view on the situation in Central America stressing on the occasion their wish for cooperation with neighbouring countries and peaceful solving of all disputes.

Sergej Kraigher stressed the respect of the authentic principles of the non-aligned policy, particularly non-interference in internal affairs of other countries and non-interventionism as basis for peace in this and other regions in the world.

Members of the closest Nicaraguan leadership also stressed that they adopted nonalignment as their policy as they see it as the guarantee of their security.

The Yugoslav delegation and the Nicaraguan junta representatives agreed to develop bilateral relations in all spheres possible, and the Yugoslav side informed its hosts about the initial assistance of 800,000 dollars the Yugoslav Federal Executive Council has granted to the friendly country.

In an interview to Nicaraguan journalists, Kraigher pointed to the significance of preserving the authenticity of the Nicaraguan revolution. Particular publicity was given here to this part of the interview.

Sergej Kraigher expressed his conviction that in this, Nicaragua will enjoy support of both its hitherto allies and all progressive forces in the world regardless of their ideological orientations.

MIJATOVIC RECEIVES OUTGOING MONGOLIAN AMBASSADOR

LD182256 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1414 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Nov (TANJUG)--Cvijetin Mijatovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, has received in farewell audience the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of Mongolia, Puntsagiyn Shagdarsuren, and held friendly talks with him.

JOINT SESSION OF ASSEMBLY COMMITTEES ON FOREIGN RELATIONS HELD

LD182305 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1557 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Nov (TANJUG)--The Foreign Affairs Committee of the Federal Chamber and the Committee for Economic Relations With Foreign Countries of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces held a joint session in Belgrade today, under the chairmanship of Nijaz Dizdarevic and Asan Kerim, to discuss the current international situation, the special session of the UN General Assembly on international economic questions and the SFRY's relations with neighboring countries.

Ignac Golob, assistant federal secretary for foreign affairs, briefed delegates on the latest development of the situation in the world, in particular with the Iraqi-Iranian conflict, the session of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation in Madrid and Yugoslavia's latest activities in the international field. The session endorsed a report by the Federal Executive Council on this year's special session of the UN General Assembly on economic questions.

Apart from major questions of the struggle for the new economic order, the greatest attention was focused during the debate on mutual economic cooperation of the developing countries and their reliance on their own resources and on the development of Yugoslavia's relations with the developing world. The introductory report on this theme was submitted by Kazimir Vidas, assistant federal secretary for foreign affairs.

At today's session delegates held an exhaustive debate on Yugoslavia's relations with the neighboring countries on the basis of the Federal Executive Council report, reports presented to the Foreign Affairs Committee and reports on debates held in this connection in the assemblies of the socialist republics and autonomous provinces. The introductory report was submitted by Sava Obradovic, assistant federal secretary for foreign affairs. It was judged that significant progress had been achieved in the development of bilateral relations with the neighboring countries on the basis of the policy of good neighborliness. In this way, it was stressed, the Yugoslav policy of good neighborliness had proven itself as a correct orientation and a realistic long-term basis for stable relations with the neighboring countries and for gradually settling unsolved questions and problems with some of them individually. At the session it was decided to submit a report on the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly on this debate and its conclusions.

ASSEMBLY COMMITTEE DISCUSSES ECONOMIC RESOLUTION FOR 1981

AU181630 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Text] At their sessions today the committees of the SFRY Assembly's Chamber of Republics and Provinces continued their discussions on the draft resolution and other related documents, including the federation's budget, for next year. Dusan Mitic reports:

At today's session of the Committee for Social Planning and Development Policy of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, representatives of the Federal Executive Council briefed delegates on the preparation of accords for the next medium-term development plan. Sukrija Uzunovic, member of the Federal Executive Council, said that there are still open and unsolved problems in the accords, but he expressed his belief in this connection that acceptable solutions would be probably found during the current and coming weeks. Solutions have not as yet been found for the problems connected with the accords on oil and gas, on the issuance of money and on the development of undeveloped regions.

Spasoje Medenica, general director of the Federal Institute for Planning, spoke on the progress of preparations for the resolution and on the great differences between the documents concerning the development of the entire country and the corresponding documents for the individual republics and provinces.

Spasoje Medenica also informed the delegate members of the committee on the latest findings of the social accounting service. In the first 9 months of this year the economy increased its total revenue by 37 percent and its realized income by 33 percent. Personal incomes are increasing in accordance with the forecasts incorporated in the resolution [for 1980] and increased in that period by only a little more than 23 percent. The portion of revenues allotted by the economy for its operational funds increased by 78 percent and at the same time the allotments for housing construction increased by 41 percent and the economy's reserve funds by 39 percent. According to the same information, the allotments for amortization funds increased by nearly 29 percent and totaled about 100 billion dinars. The repayments for the credits granted to the economy also amounted to about 100 billion dinars. Interest payments increased by 42 percent as compared to the preceding period. In the first 9 months of this year the economy's total losses amounted to 20.5 billion dinars, marking an increase of nearly 39 percent over the same period last year.

KOSTIC ADDRESSES FEDERAL BUDGET COMMITTEE ON EXPENSES, REVENUES

LD182307 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1430 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 18 Nov (TANJUG)--The delegates' debate on the federal budget for 1981 is becoming more and more lively and meaningful.

Petar Kostic, federal secretary for finance, today informed the delegates of the Committee for the Federal Budget on the expenditure and revenue as well as of the new solutions for 1981 budget of the federation.

Let us recall: The total volume of the federal budget in 1981, by the Federal Executive Council's proposal, should be 169 billion dinars. A little over 100 billion will be ensured from the federation's original receipts while the rest will be covered from the contributions by the republics and provinces--over 64 billion--and from the resources of the National Bank of Yugoslavia--4.6 billion dinars.

Most of the expenditure of some 100 billion dinars, or 59.6 percent of the total volume of budgetary expenditure, will be spent on the financing of the Yugoslav People's Army. This represents 5.8 percent of the national income envisaged for 1981; the increase in expenditure for the Yugoslav People's Army amounts to 38.5 percent compared with 1980. Supplementary resources for the insufficiently developed republics and for Kosovo amount to 9.6 percent of the 1981 federal budget (a little over 16 billion dinars) and the supplementary resources for war veterans and disabled protection and others amount to 18.9 percent of the budget (a little over 30 billion dinars). These three items alone, determined beforehand by legislation and agreements, appropriate 88.1 percent of the federal budget, and possible maneuvering aimed at some more significant changes can be made only in the rest of the budget of about 12 percent. It seems--and this has also been the case in years past--that there is not much room for maneuver.

What are the essential changes? The Yugoslav People's Army will be financed--according to the Federal Executive Council's proposal--at the rate of 5.8 percent of the national income instead of 6.17 percent in the current 5-year plan. In proposing this rate, the basic point of departure of the Federal Executive Council, Kostic said, has been the need to ensure the certain level of modernization of our armed forces. Of course, the country's material possibilities have been taken into consideration in this.

The percentage of allocated supplementary funds for the underdeveloped republics and for Kosovo are also being reduced from 0.93 percent of social product to 0.85 percent. In addition a very large sum of nearly 50 billion dinars for the Yugoslav People's Army and for the underdeveloped republics and Kosovo is being written off. This is the amount which the federal budget "owes" to the above users.

The share of the federal organs in the federal budget, from the SFRY Presidency to organs and organizations in the federation, is reduced from 7.2 to 6.6 per cent. Noneconomic investments are also being drastically reduced and their share in the federal budget will be 1.1 percent. The aim is, for instance, to conserve and halt the work on the Museum of the Revolution and a similar fate will not bypass many other noneconomic projects either.

We can no longer rely on appeals and recommendations for saving, Kostic said. The aim now is to restrict resources before hand and so saving becomes inevitable. One has to live and work within the framework of financial possibilities.

It seems, however, that the real and most serious problems of the federal budget emerge on the so-called revenue side. A few figures suffice: An amount of nearly 73 billion dinars is expected to come from sales tax; this represents an increase of 54.6 percent compared with 1980. Contributions by the republics and provinces are increased by as much as 67.2 percent.

LCY PRESIDIUM HOLDS AUGMENTED SESSION ON DEVELOPMENT

LD182105 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1709 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Nov (TANJUG)--The LCY Central Committee Presidium held an augmented session in Belgrade today. The Presidium considered draft conclusions on ideopolitical questions of Yugoslavia's socioeconomic development in the period from 1981 to 1985, due to be proposed to the LCY Central Committee for adoption.

The Presidium decided that the already announced session of the LCY Central Committee would be held in Belgrade on 4 December 1980.

The Presidium also discussed current questions in the sphere of the LCY's international cooperation, as well as other questions concerning its regular activity.

BAKARIC DISCUSSES ECONOMIC, POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT WITH BORBA

LD131530 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1013 GMT 13 Nov 80

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Nov (TANJUG)--Our present difficulties are the birth pangs of a transition to the system we outlined in the constitution. They are attributed to the general weakness of Yugoslavia, but this is not true at all. Dr Vladimir Bakaric said this in an interview given to BORBA. On 6 November he (?received) in his office BORBA editor Rade Vujovic and talked to him about the "burning" issues in our development process. BORBA is publishing parts of this conversation in paraphrased form.

Bakaric said the difficulties lie in the fact that in the process of abandoning the old system and transferring to the one projected by the Constitution and the Law on Associated Labor Yugoslavia is to take up a new role and conduct itself as a "medium-developed country." Hitherto we have not adopted this attitude and in large part lived on credit, and this credit-purchase arrangement is not sufficiently involved in our development. And now, of course, we find it difficult to reorient ourselves. We are overcoming the difficulties with fantastic success, but also with numerous idiotic mistakes which are inevitable in such a situation and cause misconceptions all over the place. It is not by chance that the workers are standing up best in all this--like cast iron. We have no problem here.

Bakaric then spoke about the inevitable fall in living standards resulting from oil price increases and the need to develop domestic sources of energy and the country's production strength. In this connection it is necessary to go across local provincial and republic borders through the association of the economy itself. In relations between the developed and undeveloped there are also remnants of old conceptions. The way out is not through a perpetual quarrel over whether more or less means should be provided. A new conception in accordance with the Constitution must be found, but no one is seriously working on this.

There are two basic starting points in this new conception: The relative independence of every nation and nationality and the linking-up which opens up the prospect of greater income for all and the further affirmation of the Constitution in practice. The present practice--you give me the means and I'll do what I want; no, I won't give you them--is untenable and retrograde. This means that we must free ourselves of central planning because at the moment the undeveloped can say: We cannot plan because we do not know how much we shall get.

In reply to Vujovic's question on whether he himself was working on this new conception, Bakaric said that at the moment he was not in such a position, but that he hoped that in a few months he would make certain proposals.

In this connection he stressed that it is of great importance who are the bearers and implementers these ideas. New relations demand new bearers. This is certainly a system of agreement, but agreement in the economy above all. This means that every unit must have a clear insight into the economy of the other unit and know where it can and should find joint interests. At the moment everyone is endeavoring to win as many means for himself as possible and not proceeding from the principle: I am giving in order to gain more through joint effort.

The conversation then turned to the current troubles in the European community, which is our largest foreign trade partner. Bakaric noted that those who have lived on subsidies must retrench. They are loading (?all) the burdens of the crisis onto the backs of the workers with the result that they will have serious social conflicts. We must go along another path and endeavor to alter a system of relations which contents itself with a medium or low level of labor productivity. We must develop relations in which it will be clear to everyone that he must work to such and such a degree because the self-management and income relations are not yet functioning.

As an example,Bakaric cited agricultural resources with which good results have been achieved in yields and labor productivity, but no further than that. Thanks to the high degree of mechanization, farmers in fact work 300 or 400 hours per annum, but personal incomes are worked out as though they are working 1,000 to 2,000 hours. The labor force is used in a seasonal manner and not through the whole year, with the result that the ratio of 11 hectares of land to every employee is maintained, while generally in developed countries it is 22 hectares to every employee, in Denmark 35 and on the largest farms in the United States even 100 hectares. Things must be changed here, but this can only be achieved in the commune and not by the Federal Government. Space must be opened up for new work places, but only productive ones. We must also find work for farmers to create income when they complete their seasonal work and avoid "idle running." This is to be found everywhere because the thesis prevails that we must give work to people. This practice is pushing us towards remaining backward; it is a note of peasant socialism. The starting point has not been the creation of greater income at each work place, both old and new, and the guaranteeing of greater productivity of labor. But without this there can be neither good living standards nor stabilization. The communes can affirm their constitutional role here, and in particular the delegate system, for without this it is impossible to construct a delegate system as a whole.

Noting then that he "supported stabilization with all his might," Bakaric stressed that our stabilization must not suffer from theory from the thirties but that there were instances of this and this was not good, for it leads nowhere. This is reflected in incomprehensible bureaucratic stubborness and short-sightedness--there is no coffee, there is no detergent, there is no medicine--which has been created by dissatisfaction, particularly in the market place, among the middle strata. Seen in terms of figures and balances, we are talking here about a relatively small percentage of foreign exchange to be set aside for these purposes, but the consequences are very grave. There are people abroad who vitually see the downfall of Yugoslavia in this. These rumors continue to be spread persistently.

The current difficulties in the economy, accompanied by shortages of various articles, have led relentlessly to the Presidency taking this into its own hands, as well, even though it has not the right according to the Constitution. In this way the function of the Executive Council, and even its responsibility, is diminished; the development of the delegate system is thereby checked. The delegate assembly should resolve these matters, but it, as it stands at the moment, is not capable of doing so. It is more like an appendage to the Executive Council. In reply to Vujovic's observation that the delegates themselves think in this way in the SFRY Assembly, that they criticize this situation but cannot change it, Bakaric said this should not even be demanded of the delegates. The thing is to prepare the way for the more effective operation of the delegate system as a whole, and this means continuing to affirm new socioeconomic relations in the communes which will make possible and demand operation by the delegates in accordance with the Constitution.

This is also a great task for journalists: not to criticize but to press for this sort of development.

At the moment the situation is such that the Executive Councils, the Federal Executive Council and the other councils are in fact the old governments, seeking political support in the assemblies. Even this great polemic over the mandate of the president of the Federal Executive Council is in keeping with the strengthening of the executive organs and not the delegate system. A mandate of a year was proposed so that the president should not "become strong"--this was the meaning of it. And yet according to the Constitution the president of an executive council cannot become strong at all, even though this mandate lasts 4 years, for he is under the daily control of the Assembly and the Presidency in which are members of the Central Committee. Secondly, he is the mandator. This means that for him there is no excuse that he was outvoted in the Executive Council. He must not be outvoted. If he disagrees with something then the government falls. This means there is no government. They have outvoted me so let them get on with it. The mandator is responsible for the entire policy of the Executive Council in question. The task of the Executive Council is to prepare the material for the Assembly and not to be the authority. What Tito never even dreamt of is being done in practice in the name of Tito; we are going back towards the state of affairs in which we have a Federal Executive Council as a coordinator of the republics' executive councils. This is the way the Federal Executive Council is and so it cannot operate efficiently, said Dr Vladimir Bakaric.

MONTENEGRO PARTY COMMITTEE DISCUSSES ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

LD171910 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1611 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Excerpt] Titograd, 17 Nov (TANJUG)--On the subject of each current investment, it is high time every municipality knew exactly what will happen to that investment and that quite concrete decisions are taken in this field. This was stressed during the talks today at the Montenegro League of Communists Central Committee with the communists holding the most responsible duties in organizations of associated labor, during which the need was also stressed for a most rigorous check to be carried out on every intended investment.

It was said during the meeting, chaired by Vojo Srzentic, president of the Montenegro League of Communists Central Committee that in all working and living environments the mentality of work, economies and responsible conduct must be built more vigorously and the concept of an easy life unaccompanied by adequate work effort must be radically changed. The warning was given that management teams in work collectives should channel their activity more into improving relations between elements of internal economies. This implies primarily greater labor productivity, reduction of all production and business operation costs, intensification of work discipline and more economic conduct in all business. This is the only way out, whereby under conditions of radical reduction of investment ambitions, a dynamic social and economic development of Montenegro can be assured.

ZAGREB PARTY PRESIDIUM DISCUSSES ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES

LD182112 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1301 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Text] Zagreb, 18 Nov (TANJUG)--The Presidium of the Zagreb City Conference of the League of Communists of Croatia at its sessions on 13 and 17 November 1980, as reported today, discussed the political situation and the tasks of the League of Communists in Zagreb, primarily in light of the economic trends and difficulties, as well as social and ideological trends which mark the present situation. Milka Planinc, president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia; Milutin Baltic, secretary of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia; and Ivica Racan, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia, also took part in the work of the session.

The level of production forces, efficiency, productivity, income and pooling labor and resources achieved is such as to impose the further development of associated labor, which would make stable and speedier development possible, as the crucial issue. The slowness and the insufficient [word indistinct] in pooling labor and resources, in restructuring production, and in developing the delegate system as the basis of coordination of interests opens up space for economic and social problems and weaknesses which could lead to the undermining of the actual good political mood of the working class, working people and citizens. The speedier development of self-managing and income-based relations and strengthening the delegate system are fundamental tasks on which activity should be intensified and the responsibility of the League of Communists made more incisive, it was stressed in the debate.

These and other topical issues which were embraced in the debate will soon be the subject of a broader debate by the League of Communists organization.

KOSOVO TRADE UNION COUNCIL DISCUSSES INCOME DISTRIBUTION

AU181730 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Summary] At its session today the Kosovo Federation of Trade Unions Council determined trade unions' tasks in implementing the policy of distribution of funds for personal incomes according to work and the results of work. Milisav Milic reports:

"We do not lack clear views and good conclusions on distribution. But we lack definite actions to implement the policy of personal income distribution according to work and the results of work, Svetislav Vukovic, member of the Presidium of the Kosovo Trade Union Council pointed out. He stressed that all subjective factors must make maximum efforts in the struggle for higher productivity and income and thereby also for appropriate personal incomes." Income must be the basic motivation for work of all 170.000 employed workers in Kosovo. But unfortunately work organizations are increasingly frequently introducing special stimulants for regular work attendance. "Instead of taking disciplinary measures for unjustified absences from work, they are paying workers and even directors as much as 1,000 dinars per month each as a reward for regular work attendance. This practice, which is unfortunately increasingly apparent, does not stimulate work but anarchy."

The council also "sharply criticized the old practice by the organizations engaged in social activities of continuing to distribute salaries thereby neglecting the evaluation of work" and in this connection stressed the need for practical actions to implement the Law on Associated Labor.

BRIEFS

SRI LANKA MINISTER--Luka Banovic, member of the Federal Executive Council and federal secretary for justice and general administration, yesterday received Dr Nissanka Wijeratne, Sri Lanka's minister of justice, who is visiting Yugoslavia at the invitation of the Federation Executive Council. During a cordial talk Luka Banovic and Nissanka Wijeratne exchanged views on the organization of justice in the two countries, and on expanding cooperation between the two countries in that field. [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Oct 80 p 8 AU]

SED STUDY DELEGATION--Nandor Major, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, yesterday received an SED study delegation led by Ursula Ragwitz, member of the SED Central Committee and chief of the SED Central Committee Department for Culture. [Text] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Nov 80 p 6 AU]